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ABSTRACT

This annotated resource guide contains information and learning activities on the Vietnam War for use by high school history teachers. Annotations of primary source materials, resource materials, textbooks, general interest books, and film and slide shows from several competing points of view are included. The developers believe that students who are exposed to the resources and activities will begin to understand that the realities of the Vietnam War are quite different from most textbook versions and, specifically, that the war was essentially a struggle between the United States and the people of Vietnam for control of South Vietnam and that the war effort was substantially constrained by a mass movement of protest within the United States and internationally. The review is organized topically in eight chapters: 1) Histories of the War, 2) The Land and People of Indochina, 3) United States Foreign Policy, 4) Vietnamese Liberation Movements, 5) G.I. Experiences, 6) The Antiwar Movement, 7) Impact of the War, and 8) Vietnam Since the War. Students are involved in a variety of activities related to each of these topics, including pre- and posttests to check knowledge before and after studying a unit, discussing issues in class, analyzing selected readings, constructing time lines, reading poetry by Vietnamese students, participating in opinion polls about the necessity of war, and brainstorming methods that were or could have been used by opponents of the war to bring it to an end. The document concludes with directories of organizations and publishers and suggestions for books for elementary school children. (DB)

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The Vietnam Era

A Guide to Teaching Resources

Indochina Curriculum Group
Cambridge, Massachusetts
1978

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The Indochina Curriculum Group (ICG) is a collective of Boston-area high school teachers and writers developing materials on Southeast Asia for high schools. The Curriculum Group began in 1973 in response to the myths and distortions used by the United States government and most of the communications industry to justify the Vietnam War. We seek to provide other viewpoints than those included in standard textbooks.

ICG is a project of the International Ministry in Cambridge, Inc., and is funded by contributions and the sale of materials. Special funding for this project was provided by the Haymarket Peoples Fund of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and the Boston-Cambridge Ministry in Higher Education of Boston, Massachusetts.

Additional copies of this guide and other ICG materials are available from us at 11 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA 02138, 617/354-6583.

Staff for this project were Sharon Breakstone, Nancy Falk, Jane Jackson, and Meredith Webb. Paul Grace wrote the original guide, *Southeast Asia Today* (1974), on which this manuscript is based.

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Preface

The materials in this guide were drawn from many sources, the first of which was ICG's 1974 *Southeast Asia Today, Resource Guide for Secondary Schools.* We decided in this edition to concentrate on the war in Vietnam, providing more comprehensive annotations and curriculum ideas than a wider scope would allow.

We eliminated most materials in the original guide which were out-of-print and those which were dated or too scholarly. In our search for new materials, we solicited suggestions from teachers and checked bibliographies, antiwar organizations, radical publishers, *Books in Print* and film catalogues. Teachers' suggestions were the most crucial, as our major criterion for inclusion in the guide was usefulness to teachers and students in terms of reading level, brevity, availability, cost and appropriate language for secondary schools.

Each of these resources was evaluated by at least one teacher or writer. When inclusion was uncertain or disputed, two or three opinions were solicited.

We collaborated on all editing and on the writing of text, introductory notes and student activities. Although this was a slow process, the advantages of collective work outweighed the disadvantages for us personally and for the quality of the guide.

We are especially grateful to the Haymarket Peoples Fund and the Boston-Cambridge Ministry for Higher Education, which provided grants for production of *The Vietnam Era,* and to the many other supporters of the Indochina Curriculum Group whose financial contributions enabled us to research and produce this material.

Special thanks to the following people who have contributed annotations, criticisms or suggestions: Paul Grace, Paul Pickard, Betsy Mellins, Susan Rotblat-Walker, Jon Sills, Patricia Simon, David Hunt, Kathy Knight, Ngo Vinh Long, Gerry McDonough, Bert Skvirsky, Karen Sargent, Allen Hunter, Ann Froines, John Marciano, Bill Griffen, Abby Schirmer, Dick Cluster, Howard Zinn, Nguyen Hoi Chan, Alan Bailey, June Namias, Bill Schechter, Sox Sperry, Debbie Kuhn, Paul Shannon, Steve Shapiro, Jack Malinowski. Organizations which helped in our search for materials include the Syracuse Peace Council, American Friends Service Committee, Gold Star Parents for Amnesty and the Southeast Asia Resource Center.

Thanks also to Bill Krumske and Peter Johnson of the University Christian Movement who donate office space and who share that space with us. We wish to express our appreciation to First Church Congregational, and to Charlie McIsaac and Edra Mercer who help make it possible for us to meet in the church.

We are grateful for the personal and political support of our families during our work on this project.

Sharon Breakstone / Nancy Falk / Jane Jackson / Meredith Webb

Introduction

After every war in which the United States has fought, schools have been used to justify that war to the next generations. Textbook interpretations have stressed the necessity of our involvement and the correctness and morality of the United States' part in the war. By this same process, U.S. involvement in Vietnam is now being presented to high school students as, at worst, a mistake — or, at best, a war to save "free" South Vietnam from communist invasion.

A survey of 28 widely-used U.S. history textbooks summarized in "Vietnam and the American Textbook" found that they question not a single fundamental premise of the official U.S. position. Earlier "hawkish" texts argue that the invasion was instigated by the "Red Chinese" and the Russians; later "dovish" texts merely shift the focus of the aggressor thesis to the North Vietnamese. These more liberal texts embrace the "quagmire" thesis: that the United States became involved out of honorable motives but then was entangled in a war that could neither be understood nor won despite the best of intentions.

According to Griffen, Knowles and Marciano, "The textbooks thus exclude, even as a valid thesis for examination, the position that the conflict was a logical extension of racist and imperialist policies which also brought the U.S. to China, the Philippines and Korea; that American efforts in Vietnam were simply a continuation of earlier French colonialism. There is simply no recognition that official explanations of U.S. involvement were a continuous set of lies and distortions designed to hide the invasion of the countries of Indochina." Alternate viewpoints, when acknowledged, are discredited by presenting them in the briefest terms as "differences of opinion" which were strongly disputed by government supporters, or by associating them with "peaceniks," "hippies," and "rioters." Little evidence is presented either to confirm or deny the critics' or supporters' arguments.

Griffen, Knowles and Marciano have compiled a version of the war as presented in the 28 texts and have documented, point by point, the distortions, omissions and lies. They argue that to tolerate materials stating that the United States had no interest in Vietnam other than assuring South Vietnam's self-determination, that the North Vietnamese would not permit free elections as prescribed by the 1954 Geneva Accords, or that the United States was always willing to negotiate while the North Vietnamese were not, makes as much sense as tolerating science books stating that the earth is the center of the solar system. In order to understand the difference between what we were told and what actually happened, they advocate making extensive use of primary source materials such as the Pentagon Papers, which, "for most Americans and for almost all of the young, are still unread and still a secret."

The following books are referred to in the Introduction.

Interpreting the War: April, 1976, issue of *Indochina Chronicle*, SRC, $.75. Includes two articles:

"Vietnam and the American Textbook" by William Griffen, Robert Knowles and John Marciano, pp. 4-14. (The book on which this article is based should be available through Syracuse Peace Council in 1979.)

"Asking the Forbidden Questions" by Noam Chomsky, pp. 2-3.

Asia in American Textbooks by the Asia Society, 1976, 36 pp., free from the Asia Society.

Noam Chomsky, in "Asking the Forbidden Questions," places the issue of textbook distortions in the context of the broader ideological struggle to insure that Americans generally will draw no significant lessons from the war. "If America's 'Vietnam intervention' is understood, as it properly must be, as a major crime against peace, then an ideological barrier will be erected against the use of U.S. force in the future of global management. Hence those who are committed to the founding principles of American imperialism must ensure that such questions are never raised. They may concede the stupidity of American policy, and even its savagery, but not the illegitimacy inherent in the entire enterprise, the fact that this was a war of aggression committed by the United States, first against South Vietnam, and then the rest of Indochina. These issues must be excluded from current and future debate over the 'lessons of the debacle,' because they go directly to the crucial matter of the resort to force and violence to guarantee a certain vision of global order."

Students' images of Indochina suffer also from the ethnocentrism which characterizes textbook versions of Asia generally. The Asia Society in *Asia in American Textbooks* reports the results of its detailed survey of 306 elementary and secondary social studies texts dealing with Asia: only 18% take a predominately Asia-centered approach: that is, one which assumes that cultural systems are based upon coherent systems of values and which uses Asian sources to help students understand how "strange" customs and ideas make sense in their own contexts. Instead Asian societies are judged by how successfully they are "catching up with the West," progress being the greatest good and modernization equalling Westernization. Asians seen only through Western eyes appear exotic, inscrutable, sometimes less than human. This approach prepares the way for believing that the peoples of Indochina needed American help for their own good and that "the Oriental," to quote General William Westmoreland, "doesn't put the same high price on life as does the Westerner."

In response to this need, *The Vietnam Era* seeks to change the way students learn about the Vietnam War by enabling teachers to broaden the resources available to them. We have chosen materials which make the case that:

1. The Vietnam War was essentially a struggle between the United States and the people of Vietnam for control of the South.

2. The U.S. military strategy, including free fire zones, forced-relocation camps, automated warfare, antipersonnel weapons, and herbicides, sanctioned indiscriminate devastation of land and people.

3. The war was not an isolated mistake, but part of the United States' consistent effort to maintain economic domination in the Pacific and "stability" worldwide.

4. The American people and the Congress were deliberately deceived by several presidents as to the nature and extent of the war.

5. The war effort was substantially constrained by a mass movement of protest and resistance in this country and internationally.

Some of the materials annotated here, such as the *Vietnam Curriculum,* present primary source materials from several competing points of view and encourage students to weigh their claims. Others, such as the Defense Department film *Why Vietnam?,* are included because they present the official apology for the war in its most blatant form. Several, especially the histories, aim at being as objective as possible.

Most, however, are unapologetically personal or political, usually both. That is, they are written out of the deep experiences of people who were themselves affected by the war and who came to understand what happened to them as part of some larger pattern. They are people who asked "Why?" — and although they have not all found the same answers, we hope that they will encourage students to ask the question themselves and suggest directions in which answers may be sought.

Obstacles to be overcome in teaching about the war

Many difficulties stand between having good materials about the Vietnam era and putting them to use in the classroom. We want to acknowledge some of these hazards, partly to share approaches to them that other teachers have found effective, partly to extend our support to you as you struggle with them.

Fitting Vietnam into the curriculum

A few teachers, mostly at the college level, are able to offer a whole elective on the Vietnam War, but most have to integrate it into courses in U.S. history or Asian studies. Others have made the connections with Vietnam in subjects as diverse as peace studies, journalism, literature, women's studies, science, film, values clarification, government, the sixties, modern revolutions and vocational education. This "infiltrating" of the war into many subjects, often necessary because of the constraints of time and/or the need to keep a low profile politically, can be valuable in understanding the multiple links between this part of our past and students' present concerns.

Responding to students' feelings

Unlike older people who were desensitized to some extent by years of televised killing, high school students now encounter the violence of the war as a shocking new experience. Besides learning about what happened, they need opportunities to share how they feel about it — to compare reactions after a powerful film, for example, or to express the conflicts and confusions that are raised for them. Teachers need to be sensitive to how much emotional load students can handle.

A useful exercise before and during study of the war is to ask students to write down the phrases, images, words and pictures that come to their minds when they hear the word "Vietnam" — not in any organized form, but just to give them (and you) a sense of what stands out. You also might ask how the war affected them and their families. Another exercise is to ask students to put themselves in the place of someone directly involved in the war, using an evocative reading or photo as a stimulus, and to write what he or she might be experiencing. Such exercises not only serve as an outlet for feelings, but indicate students' attitudes and information as a guide for which materials and activities best fit their needs.

Confronting racism, sexism and glorification of violence

Many of the materials in this guide make the point that U.S. military training encouraged a contempt for Asians and for women which served as a rationalization for acts of killing and rape. We think that students need to understand the violence that can flow from such attitudes — but criticizing the attitudes is tricky when they exist in the students themselves to some extent. Many of the commercial films now coming out about Vietnam, for example, glorify war as the ultimate test of manhood in a way that is attractive to adolescents. Veterans who visit classes report finding some students eager to know how many people they killed. We can only alert teachers to these problems and ask you to share with us ways of addressing them that you have found effective.

Overcoming automatic anti-communism

Few Americans of high school age have known anyone who professed to be a communist or even a socialist. Growing up in the wake of the cold war, they have heard "communist" used as the antonym of "democratic" and "free" but are unfamiliar either with the flourishing of radical U.S. movements in the 30s and 40s or with the persecution they suffered in the 50s. One step toward overcoming the image of communism as a monolithic evil is to provide a context for understanding its attractiveness to some and its threat to others. Within the United States, a brief review of post-World War II history including the "fall" of China and the start of the cold war helps in understanding U.S. support for Diem. One of the more heavy-handed anti-communist films of that period may demonstrate the scare tactics used in this country. Within Vietnam, we have tried to suggest materials and activities that help students see communism as a real choice for the Vietnamese, even though students would not choose it for themselves. "Revolution," "liberation," and "independence" are words which they have learned to value; perhaps they can accept that for growing numbers of Vietnamese these words have become identified with communism. We see this as an important goal, but we recognize how dangerous it can be in an American high school to take even a cautious step in this direction.

Challenging myths about the war

Inevitably, students who have heard only variations on one basic version of the war from their newscasters and national leaders will resist being told that what they have believed is false. To accept a critical view of their country's actions represents for many a revolutionary break with authority which they may not be ready to make. Some may combat the threat by denouncing the materials or the teacher who challenges their truth.

One way teachers have tried to overcome this defensiveness is to avoid confronting students where their opinions (and their parents' opinions) are strongest, beginning instead where they feel more uncertain or ambivalent. A good way to bring out ambivalence is to show a film like *Hearts and Minds* which upsets complacent answers and raises the disturbing question, "How could this happen?" This may provide an opening for hearing conflicting interpretations of some controversial issue (e.g., the Tonkin Gulf incident or the debate over whether members of the NLF were northerners or southerners). Another approach is to trace how the government position changed over the years, or how the public justifications for the war differed from the warmakers' private documents. Other students may be more persuaded by personal accounts of individuals who once supported the war and were disillusioned by their experiences in Vietnam.

In any case, all sides of the controversy can be represented in a class without falling into the cynical deadend of "the government said 'a' and their critics said 'b,' so we'll never know the truth." Seeing blatant examples of U.S. or DRV propaganda may help students to evaluate what are more objective sources of information, and to accept that these may contradict some of what they have taken as fact. The Pentagon Papers, Congressional hearings, and other primary materials provide a respectable government authority by which textbook or newspaper versions of the war can be criticized.

Explanatory notes

For materials not easily available through bookstores or from the publisher, a distributor is listed at the end of the entry. See Appendix for full names and addresses of publishers and distributors.

Titles with ◇ are those we judge to be outstandingly effective for general use in high school social studies classes. They are especially useful if you have only a short time to spend on the war.

If you have students who want to explore some aspect of the war in greater depth, we will be glad to provide information about additional resources. We also invite you to share with us your comments about *The Vietnam Era* or your suggestions for additions or changes. We plan to update *The Vietnam Era* occasionally with descriptions of new materials and activities which teachers have found effective. If we've left something out that you find particularly useful, please let us know.

Understanding political terms

The following political groupings are often referred to in the Guide:

The Republic of Vietnam was the government which was based in the south of Vietnam, mainly in Saigon. It was created and largely financed by the United States.

Its armed forces, known as the *Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN)*, fought with the aid of the United States military. The Republic of Vietnam is sometimes referred to as *the Saigon government*, *the Diem government* (for Ngo Dinh Diem, president from 1954-1963) or *the Thieu government* (Nguyen Van Thieu, president from 1965-1975).

The National Liberation Front (NLF), founded in 1960, was a coalition of nationalists, communists, Buddhists and other political and religious groups in the South opposed to the Diem government. Its goals included ending foreign intervention and reunifying Vietnam. In 1969, the NLF formed the *Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG)*, to administer the areas under its control. The United States military and the press referred to the NLF/PRG forces as *Vietcong*.

The third force, like the NLF, opposed Diem and U.S. intervention but had no army, government, or defined zone of control. Based largely in southern cities, they struggled against the government through demonstrations, newspapers and political debate.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) was the government in the North from 1945, when Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnam's independence from France, to 1976, when North and South Vietnam were reunited.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRVN) is the present government of unified Vietnam.

The following exercise for students demonstrates the importance of what terms are chosen to describe the different sides:

Have students list all of the names they can think of which were used to describe the other side during the war (Vietcong, enemy, gooks, slants, slopes, dinks, Reds, terrorists, communists, commies, aggressors, infiltrators, Charlie, rebels, guerrillas, North Vietnam). How many are negative? positive? neutral? Why do you think this is?

Do the same thing for the side we were supporting (Vietnamese, South Vietnamese, Army of the Republic of Vietnam, allies, patriots, nationalists, government troops, defenders). Are these positive, negative or neutral?

What did the other side call itself? (Democratic Republic of Vietnam, National Liberation Front, Provisional Revolutionary Government, liberators, patriots, socialists, defenders, heroes/heroines, Vietnamese) What kinds of connotations do these words have?

What did the other side call the U.S. government and its allies? (imperialists, invaders, oppressors, aggressors, Yankees, puppet regime, enemy)

What kind of information, if any, do these terms give? Are any of them inaccurate or misleading? (One example: the "communists" were not all communists, and the U.S. press never referred to our side as "capitalist forces.")

Have students list similar terms from other wars, such as "Jap" and "kraut." Discuss how such terms, often racist, make it possible to kill without thinking of all the moral ramifications of the act.

Examine news stories written during the war to see what terminology they used for the different sides. What clues does this give to their point of view?

Indochina Chronicles

The *Indochina Chronicles*, published monthly by the Indochina Resource Center during the war years, are listed by title only at the end of the chapter in which they seemed most appropriate.

Each issue has several articles on one topic, which the title describes. Over the years the issues have covered historical, political, military and social aspects of the war. The *Chronicles* are full of factual and descriptive information, combining scholars' work and first-hand accounts. Reading level varies from issue to issue.

As of 1976 the name was changed to *Southeast Asia Chronicle*, published bi-monthly by Southeast Asia Resource Center (SRC), yearly subscription $8. Back issues of *Indochina Chronicle* can be ordered from SRC.

Histories of the War

Vietnam's lengthy and complicated history is difficult to teach. Fortunately, this section includes several short histories written specifically for use in secondary schools. There is ample material on the period of U.S. involvement, and several good resources on pre-twentieth-century Vietnamese history.

Perhaps the most striking theme to emerge from these materials is that of foreign invasion: U.S. intervention in Vietnam was part of a cycle of attempted domination that most recently included the Chinese, Japanese and French. What was to the U.S. government ten years of war, was to the Vietnamese the "Second Indochina War," the final stage of a thirty-year conflict.

In addition to providing a context for understanding U.S. involvement, the past two centuries of Indochinese history provide a case study of many of the significant events and influences that dominate the politics of the Third World. Colonialism, the conflict of tradition and modernization, the impact of World War II, the influence of communist thought, the effects of modern outside intervention, and the use of guerrilla warfare to achieve national independence — all are part of the Indochinese experience. These experiences are held in common with former colonial areas in Africa, South America, and the rest of Asia. By studying Indochina, we can add to our understanding of the rest of the Third World.[1]

Guarding the Nghe Tinh soviet with spears, 1930-31.

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[1] from *Indochina is People*, pp. 7-8.

Student Activities

1. Use an ungraded pretest to check students' basic knowledge of the history of the war:

a. For 1,000 years, Vietnam was ruled by: Russia/*China*/India.

b. The European country which invaded Vietnam in the nineteenth century was: *France*/Spain/England.

c. The most famous leader in the Vietnamese struggle for independence was: Mao Tse Tung/Nguyen Van Thieu/*Ho Chi Minh*.

d. The famous battle which the Vietnamese won ending the first part of the war in 1954 was: Gettysburg/*Dien Bien Phu*/Tet.

e. American troops were in Vietnam for: *10 years*/7 years/3 years.

f. U.S. involvement in Vietnam began in: *1945*/1954/1961.

g. President Johnson claimed that Congress had authorized the war in Vietnam by passing this resolution: Vietnam War/Haiphong Harbor/*Tonkin Gulf*.

h. Three years after the peace agreements were signed, the war actually ended in 1970/1972/*1975*.

i. Do you think the war was essentially: (1) a civil war between the liberation forces and the Saigon government; (2) a defensive response by South Vietnam to communist aggression from North Vietnam; (3) a struggle by the Vietnamese against U.S. domination; (4) other?

2. Once students have some familiarity with Vietnamese history, ways of helping them to organize it for themselves include:

a. Construct a time line of major events in Vietnamese history. Construct a parallel time line of related events in the United States.

b. Choose what you think are the twenty most important events in the Vietnamese struggle for independence.

Vo Nguyen Giap with the first armed propaganda unit, December 1944.

c. Each of the following represents a turning point in the history of U.S. involvement in Indochina. What changes resulted from each?

—World War II

—"All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator..."

—1949: communist victory in China

—Dien Bien Phu

—Geneva Agreements

—NLF formed

—Gulf of Tonkin incident

—April 1, 1968: President Johnson announces he will not seek reelection

—Kent State/Jackson State

—Pentagon Papers

—Paris Peace Agreement

—April 30, 1975

(Activities 3 through 8 are questions for class discussion.)

3. What motivated Europeans to go to Southeast Asia? What motivated Europeans to come to the New World? Compare and contrast colonial development in both areas. What were the effects on the native people?

4. Why did the United States support the Vietminh during World War II? Why did U.S. policy then change to opposing the Vietminh?

5. What were the terms of the Geneva Agreements of 1954? Why did the Vietminh accept them? What was the U.S. attitude toward them?

6. Why did opposition to Diem develop in the South after 1954?

7. What evidence is there for and against the U.S. charge that the National Liberation Front was merely a tool of North Vietnamese aggression?

8. How did U.S. policy toward Indochina change with Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford?

Books

History and Issues of the War

Part of *Vietnam Curriculum*, Boston Area Teaching Project, Inc., *The New York Review of Books*, 1968, 100 pp. $3 for the whole curriculum, ICG or AFSC.

(The entire *Vietnam Curriculum* includes four sections: "Introductory Units," "American Attitudes and Values," "Impact of the War," and "History and Issues of the War." For reviews of other materials which we consider still especially useful, see Foreign Policy, p. 38 ["Laguna"], Antiwar Movement, p. 70 ["Dilemma Stories"], and Impact, p. 81 [refugee simulation].)

This collection of reprinted articles and suggestions for student activities is still the best we know for recreating the controversy that raged around the war. The high school teachers who wrote it knew well how to present a single issue or event from several points of view so that students can reach their own conclusions.

An excellent example of this is the section "Civil War or Aggression?" (pp. C49-C65). The 1965 State Department White Paper which charged that "South Viet-Nam is fighting for its life against a brutal campaign of terror and armed attack inspired, directed, supplied and controlled by the Communist regime in Hanoi" is presented with critical replies by I.F. Stone and Bernard Fall. Other papers by Harrison Salisbury and Theodore Draper demonstrate not only that the NLF was independent from Hanoi but that the State Department itself had admitted its independence in earlier documents.

In response to another controversial question, "What should the United States have done?" opposing views are presented from Howard Zinn's *The Logic of Withdrawal* (see p. 38) and Hanson Baldwin's "What We Must Do to Win in Asia" (pp. C96-C99).

An excellent, concise history of Western involvement in Vietnam through the Diem years is also included. It is made up of excerpts from *Understanding Vietnam: A Citizen's Primer* by the Center for War/Peace Studies and from an article by Robert Scheer; consequently it is more difficult than other histories which were written specifically for school use, but it has the advantage of treating issues with more complexity than many of the high school versions.

Also included in "History and Issues of the War" are many valuable primary materials, including the Declaration of Independence of the DRV, Ho's recommendations to the Vietminh, the text of the Geneva Accords, and an official State Department justification for U.S. involvement.

A number of the articles and questions — especially those around the peace negotiations — seem dated and uninteresting now, but teachers can easily remove the sections that they want to use from the ring binders. Some of them, especially the *Citizen's Primer*, are clear enough for thermofaxing. Others could be retyped, or a classroom set of the curriculum ordered.

A Brief Account of Vietnam's Struggle for Independence: America's Longest War

Rachelle Marshall, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1975, 34 pp. $1, SRC.

Marshall's book was designed to give high school students a brief, accurate history of the war emphasizing the period from 1945 on. She is critical of the United States and sympathetic to the goals of the Vietnamese revolution, but she carefully keeps her style objective and supports controversial statements with footnotes. (Kahin and Lewis' *The United States in Vietnam*, see below, is her most frequently-quoted source.) The book is consequently drier and less readable than *Vietnam: A Thousand Years of Struggle*, but may be more persuasive to students who are wary of anything that sounds like propaganda.

Separate sections on "South Vietnam During the War Years," "The War Against Civilians," and "Anti-war Protests in the United States" lend themselves well to thermofaxing for classroom discussion.

Storming the French Residence in Hanoi, August 19, 1945.

Indochina is People

See p. 28 for annotation.

We feel that *Indochina is People* merits a separate mention under History although its primary annotation is in the Land and People section. It alternates sections on history with sections on culture, and is especially valuable for the connections it draws between the two. Students could be assigned just the history sections for reading — about 35 pages plus charts and photographs. The time lines which begin each section are especially useful for sorting out the events from prehistoric times to 1972.

Vietnam: A Thousand Years of Struggle

Terry Cannon, Peoples Press, 1972, 47 pp. $.75 (10-50 copies $.50), Peoples Press.

This is by far the most readable history we have found. It is designed to appeal to high school and junior high school readers through large type, generous use of illustrations, and colloquial language ("The bigwigs in Washington"... "Diem's cronies and yes-men"..."The French were uptight"...) Most students could read it independently, and/or sections can easily be thermofaxed for classroom use.

Vietnam's early history is summarized in a few pages, then the book focuses on twentieth-century history and, in particular, on the program and methods of the Vietminh and NLF. Its enthusiasm for Vietnam's revolutionary movements is both its strength and its weakness: it effectively builds sympathy for the NLF, but in so doing it sometimes paints a rather romantic and oversimplified version of events.

The Vietnamese Revolution

Robert Goldston, Dell, 1972, 224 pp., pb. $1.25.

Goldston's history falls midway between the others we have recommended: on the one hand, it is too detailed and its language too demanding for general use in most high school classrooms; on the other, it is not organized as a reference book. Nevertheless, it has much to recommend it.

The Vietnamese Revolution focuses on the Vietnamese passion for independence through Vietnam's long history of wars and rebellions. It is about evenly divided between the periods pre- and post-1954, dealing in most detail with Ho Chi Minh and the development of the Vietminh and the National Liberation Front. Interspersed between the historical chapters are "close-ups," short personal accounts from the viewpoints of people involved in the conflict; for example, an interview with Chairman Mao, excerpts from the diary of a North Vietnamese soldier, a description of the first draft card burning in the United States. These tend to be supportive of the Vietnamese revolution and of the antiwar movement here.

The Vietnamese Revolution was intended for use by young people and chosen by *The Library Journal* as one of the 50 best books of 1972; our reason for not giving it our highest recommendation is that it demands excellent reading skills and some familiarity with international politics. Other histories are more accessible to average high school readers.

Vietnam! Vietnam!
Felix Greene, Fulton Publishing Co., 1966, 175 pp., pb. $2.95. Out of print. Cellar Book Shop has a few copies.

Greene has gathered some of the most powerful news photographs of the war and added his own commentary to make a good history of Vietnam's struggle for independence. Its purpose is straightforwardly antiwar, but it is carefully documented and free from rhetoric.

The story of the war is told in photos and captions, with more detailed explanations and documentation at the back. A junior high school student could use the photo section for a short history of Vietnam; a high school student could use the additional materials. All the captions are written in short, concrete sentences, and the vocabulary is easy.

Students working independently could learn the essentials of the Vietnam conflict from this book alone. It is also an excellent source of photos for use with an opaque projector.

It is out of print, but one of the best general histories available — definitely worth searching for.

Vietnamese History: A Ten-Week Course for Tenth Graders
Charles S. White, A course developed for use in the Area Studies curriculum at Greenwich Senior High School, Connecticut, 1975, 44 photocopied pp. $3.50, SRC.

Like *Indochina is People*, this course emphasizes cultural and geographic aspects of Vietnam. It is not a student reader but a collection of informational notes for teachers (especially strong on pre-nineteenth-century history) and of handouts which White gave to his classes — maps, chronologies, study questions and quizzes. Unfortunately, because it comes in the form of photocopies of mimeographed pages, it is not sharp enough for teachers to make their own copies from it. It would be necessary to trace the maps and to retype the other handouts.

White's materials are definitely worth ordering by any teacher using an "area studies" approach and should be at least partially of interest to history teachers as well. The organization of his course — especially the way he follows the themes of fear of foreign domination and strength of culture through several centuries — should be helpful to others trying to squeeze a thousand years into a few weeks.

"Vietnam: Dilemma for the U.S."
Donald W. Oliver and Fred M. Newmann, pp. 37-53, *Revolution and World Politics*, 1970, Xerox, pb. $.95. Out of print but limited copies still available from Xerox.

Of the materials likely to be available in high schools already, this offers the best brief history of the war that we have found. It is, however, misleading in its emphasis on NLF "terrorism" and its effort to present a balanced view: Thieu seems more legitimate, the United States more restrained than historical evidence warrants. Included are excerpts from *The Village of Ben Suc* (see p. 82) and a selection from Bernard Fall's *Viet-Nam Witness* which paints a grim picture of military control in North Vietnam.

Thought-provoking questions are provided, including an evaluation of U.S. policies in Vietnam and a discussion of what constitutes intervention and when it may be justified.

◇ **The United States in Vietnam**
George M. Kahin and John W. Lewis, Delta, 1967, 545 pp., pb. $2.95.

Kahin and Lewis' history is a "must" for any serious study of the war. The authors, Asian scholars who were critical of the war, have written an analysis of the period from 1954 to 1967 which is at once scholarly and readable, objective and antiwar. It primarily focuses on U.S. involvement in Vietnam, but places this in a wider historical and political context.

Because it is so clearly divided into chapters and subchapters, *The United States in Vietnam* is a useful reference for students as well as teachers. Although it is too difficult for use as a high school text, students who are reading one of the briefer histories can turn to this when they want to know more about a particular period or when they question the evidence behind another author's position. In addition to footnotes at the end of each chapter, Kahin and Lewis have included maps, graphs, the text of the Geneva Agreements, the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, U.S. State Department White Papers, the Declaration of Independence of the DRV, the Ten-Point Program of the NLF, and other key documents. One good use of the book would be to thermofax some of these appendices or sections of the text for class discussion.

Vietnam: History, Documents and Opinions on a Major World Crisis
Marvin E. Gettleman, Mentor, revised edition 1970, 624 pp., pb. $4.50.

Gettleman's anthology of primary materials is a gold mine of information for understanding the conflict in Vietnam through 1970. Included are all the key treaties, declarations, speeches and exchanges of correspondence from 1919 on, clearly organized and indexed. Excerpts could be used in class to examine a particular period in depth or to supplement, rebut or clarify history texts.

A few of the essays (such as Bernard Fall's vivid description of the battle of Dienbienphu or Ho Chi Minh's account of "The Path Which Led Me to Leninism") could be used with students, but most are appropriate for teacher background reading. One of the most important is Robert Scheer's "The Genesis of United States Support for Ngo Dinh Diem," in which he details the public relations and lobbying campaign by which Diem (and such unlikely allies as Cardinal Spellman, Justice William Douglas and Senator John Kennedy) overcame President Eisenhower's misgivings about building up a Western-style alternative to the Vietminh. Max Clos' "Political Dynamics in South Vietnam" and Eqbal Ahmad's "Revolutionary Warfare" both offer insight into how the revolutionary movements organized popular support.

A detailed chronology of events is included. The revised edition also contains information on the war in Laos and Cambodia.

The Indochina Story
Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, ed., Bantam Books, 1970, 347 pp., pb. $1.25. Out of print.

For teachers who need easy access to documented information about Indochina this book is invaluable. It is definitely worth searching for.

Basically a compilation of political, economic, and technological information on Southeast Asia, the book was written by CCAS to "show the faces of the 'faceless enemy,' to show what the revolutionary movements have to offer their people and to indicate why American policy has sought for so long to contain or destroy them." It combines cultural and political information with history.

There is a clear table of contents, and each of the 33 chapters includes a brief introduction. A good chronology of historically relevant dates, starting from 1800, helps make this a useful classroom tool.

The Pentagon Papers
Senator Gravel Edition (4 vols.), Beacon Press, 1971, pb. Beacon Press has 40 sets of the 4 volumes still available for $10 (plus 75¢ postage) if pre-paid and if a letter is addressed to John Hamilton indicating that you are a teacher. Make checks payable to Beacon Press.

New York Times Edition (1 vol.), 1971, 810 pp. Out of print.

The Pentagon Papers (Vol. 5): Critical Essays
Noam Chomsky and Howard Zinn, eds., Beacon Press, 1971. Out of print.

Pentagon Papers Digest
Indochina Information Project, Indochina Peace Campaign, 38 pp. $.50, SRC.

Credibility Gap: A Digest of the Pentagon Papers
Len Ackland, ed., American Friends Service Committee, 123 pp., pb. $1, AFSC, SRC.

The Pentagon Papers, commissioned by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara in 1967 for internal government use, cover the history of U.S. involvement in Indochina from 1945 to 1968. Although written from a strongly anticommunist perspective, the *Papers* were highly critical of U.S. policy and suggested that withdrawal was the only realistic step for the United States. Unfortunately they did not persuade President Johnson to change his course, but they now serve the unintended purpose of exposing how the American people were deceived as to the nature and purposes of the war.

Because different sections of the *Papers* had different authors, the sections vary greatly in quality. Some are excellent, but many of the authors are obviously ignorant of Vietnamese culture and history. The value of the *Papers* is that they bring to light an enormous amount of previously secret material (government memos, intelligence reports, telegrams, etc.). The Gravel Edition is the most nearly complete version ever published, and a valuable teacher reference. The shorter *New York Times* Edition may be more manageable for classroom use.

Awed by the sheer bulk of the *Papers*, students will hardly want to tackle reading them. One way of demonstrating their importance is to choose key documents from one period of the war and to contrast this internal version with public statements justifying the war from the same period. (Vols. 1-4 of the Gravel Edition are organized chronologically, each containing a summary history, the documents, then public statements.) The *Papers* are most revealing in their coverage of the 1964-65 escalation (which Johnson planned while campaigning on a no-escalation platform) and the Geneva Conference (including Document 95, GE Vol. 1, the Lansdale Team's incredibly explicit report on their efforts to sabotage the Agreements). They are also good on the 1945-46 decision to support the French, and on the nature of Diem's regime and U.S complicity in his assassination.

Vol. 5 of the Gravel Edition includes a complete name and subject index of volumes 1-4 and a glossary. The critical essays vary in style and topic: some interpret the history which the *Papers* present, some criticize that history, and some raise issues about government confidentiality vs. freedom of information. One particularly interesting essay by James Aronson, "The Media and the Message," points out the manner in which the media focused more attention on their own right to publish the *Papers* than on the content of the *Papers* themselves. Other essays include reflections on "American Goals in Vietnam" by Gabriel Kolko, "Tell Your Friends That We Are People" by Don Luce, and "The Pentagon Papers as Propaganda and as History" by Noam Chomsky. Most of these essays are useful as teacher background reading, and provide ideas about how the *Papers* could be presented to students. In general, the best way to approach the Gravel Edition is to browse first through Vol. 5, if your library has a copy.

The *Pentagon Papers Digest* and *Credibility Gap* both include excerpts from the *Papers*. The *Digest* is a critical essay on U.S. policy in Vietnam rather than a "digest" in the true sense and is really the Indochina Peace Campaign's version of the government's version. It uses quotes from the *Papers* to substantiate its positions; e.g., that the U.S. was the aggressor, that U.S. policies were criminal, and that the NLF had the popular support of the Vietnamese. It can be used with students, but assumes some sympathy and background information on the war on their part. Citations are incomplete (e.g., dates are frequently lacking) and could best be used in conjunction with the complete text.

Credibility Gap, made up of excerpts from the documents grouped in chronological order, gives a good brief sense of the substance and wording of the *Papers*. It is especially effective in detailing the strategy of deception which U.S. leaders adopted toward the American public. Again, although clear headings make it a convenient resource by itself, it is best used with a complete edition available to refer to.

The film *So the People Should Know* (p. 76) presents some of the issues raised by publication of the *Papers*.

"The Presidency Rampant: Vietnam"
Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., pp. 177-207, *The Imperial Presidency*, Houghton Mifflin, 1973, cloth. $10.

Presidential power, according to Schlesinger, has been nurtured above all by war. In *The Imperial Presidency* he shows how the United States' quest for world leadership through a series of wars gradually overwhelmed the original separation of powers envisioned in the Constitution and transferred authority from Congress to the President. The chapter on Vietnam portrays Johnson and Nixon as privately believing in nearly unlimited presidential war powers, while publicly justifying their actions in Indochina by references to the Tonkin Gulf resolution, to SEATO or to other acts of Congress.

This chapter has been used with upper-level high school classes, but it assumes a rather sophisticated background in government and history and is probably most useful as a teacher resource.

Vietnamese Women in Society and Revolution: Vol. I, The French Colonial Period
Ngo Vinh Long, ed., Vietnam Resource Center, 1974, 207 pp., pb. $2.25, VRC.

This is an illuminating book, not only for its contribution to Vietnamese history and women's history, but also for its Marxist analysis of Vietnamese class structure under the French. The introduction (50 pp.) analyzes the class differences among Vietnamese women under French colonial rule. The stories themselves graphically depict the wretched lives of colonized women as servants, concubines, or tax-oppressed peasants. The last three stories (particularly "Vo Thi Sau," pp. 176-207) offer a positive direction, since they take place during the war of resistance against the French in the early 1950s.

Though the historical background is probably too detailed for use in the classroom, the stories themselves are not difficult to read, and several are short enough to thermofax for classroom use at any secondary level. Some of these are "Mother Le's Family" (p. 60), "A Child" (p. 124), "When Married, Obey Your Husband" (p. 138).

Vietnam's Will to Live: Resistance to Foreign Aggression from Early Times through the Nineteenth Century
Helen Lamb, Monthly Review Press, 1972, 328 pp., pb. $3.95.

The title here sums up the contents: this is a readable but relatively in-depth study of Vietnamese history, touching on Western (particularly Catholic missionary) involvement in Indochina.

As Lamb says in the Introduction, "In this study we focus on the Vietnamese component in the long struggle between Vietnam and the West. It is hard for Americans to see the Vietnamese as they really are — to see them at all, in fact."

Good maps and a complete index make this a useful teacher resource.

Fire in the Lake: The Americans in Vietnam
Frances Fitzgerald, Random House, 1972, 661 pp. cloth/pb. $12.50/$2.25.

There is some controversy surrounding *Fire in the Lake.* The traditional press has given it rave reviews while radical Vietnamese scholars have criticized Fitzgerald for not grasping the importance of revolutionary doctrine in shaping the resistance struggle. Critic Nguyen Khac Vien also reproaches Fitzgerald for failing to trace U.S. foreign policy in Vietnam "back to its source, American neo-colonial policy."[1]

What the book does offer is a well-documented, detailed history emphasizing the ancient cultural factors which affected the ways that the Vietnamese viewed and conducted the war. This is especially true of chapter 4, "The National Liberation Front," which we recommend highly.

The book is divided into three main sections: "The Vietnamese" (background history, including the NLF); "The Americans and the Saigon Government" (1966-1968, including chapters on the U.S. entry into the war, the Buddhist crisis, and the Tet offensive); and "Conclusion" (including a chaper on Nixon's conduct of the war and a final, quasi-impressionistic analytical summary of United States-Vietnamese relations in the early seventies). Useful as a teacher resource, it has an excellent index and bibliography.

1. Nguyen Khac Vien, "Myth and Realities," 1973, available for $.35, SRC.

Myth of the Bloodbath: North Vietnam's Land Reform Reconsidered
Gareth Porter, Cornell University Press, 1972, 55 pp. $2, SRC.

Bloodbath: Myth or Reality
Gareth Porter, *Indochina Chronicle* #19, September, 1972. $.35, SRC.

Throughout the Vietnam War, U.S. policy-makers portrayed the North Vietnamese as fanatics who would carry out a "bloodbath" against former foes if Thieu (and the United States) were to lose the war.

This vivid and dramatic charge of "bloodbath" was used at different times during the war: (1) to present the North Vietnamese and NLF fighters as bloodthirsty terrorists; (2) to justify continued U.S. intervention; and (3) near the end of the war to cause as much internal fear and chaos as possible in the South, encouraging people to flee their country.

The government basis for the bloodbath predictions was one CIA-financed book (*From Colonialism to Communism*) about the land reform program in North Vietnam after 1954. The author, Hoan Van Chi, claimed that "about 5% of the population" (about 700,000 people) were "massacred." What Porter's *Myth of the Bloodbath* does is to give a well-documented (and sympathetic) analysis of the land reform in the North — and thus to expose the bloodbath accusations as myths.

Porter is able to show that the "bloodbath" was deliberately fabricated by U.S. and South Vietnamese propaganda agencies, and backed up by intentionally inaccurate translations, fraudulent documents, and other outright lies and distortions.

This would be effective material for a special report.

Films and slideshows

Hearts and Minds
Peter Davis, 1974, 112 min., color, 16mm or 35mm. A 90-minute version is available for high school use. rbc Films.

16mm prints are rented for nonprofit showings for $125. Arrangements can be made for a special rate for several bookings for a two- or three-day period in the same city. The film is sometimes available without charge for preview purposes for people likely to make subsequent bookings.

We have found this one of the most powerful tools available for recreating the intensity of the debate which surrounded the war. Its impact is especially great on students who never saw or don't remember the bombing, the napalmed children, or the slums of Saigon. Most leave the film with strong antiwar feelings and a desire to learn more, especially to know "why?" (The film itself, which is more psychological than political, provides no systematic answer to that question — though it does focus on the aggressiveness and militarism of American culture.)

Peter Davis, who directed *Hearts and Minds*, interviews the warmakers themselves and contrasts their theories with the realities of destruction in Vietnam, the anger of wounded veterans, and the arguments of antiwar leaders. Because of this use of policy-makers who are unfamiliar to young people and because of the sophisticated cutting from scene to scene for ironic contrast (for example, from jet bomber to horse-drawn cart, from battlefield to football rally), the film is best used with high school juniors or older. Students need at least an introduction to Vietnamese history and to the various sides in the war in order to be able to follow it.

A high school version is available on request which eliminates the brothel scene and some of the strongest language, making it equivalent to a PG rating. ICG has discussion questions for the film (5¢), and an *Organizer's Guide* can be ordered from Friendshipment for 10¢. rbc Films provides promotional materials free on request.

The United States in Vietnam: How Did It Happen?
Indochina Curriculum Group, 1975, filmstrip/cassette. $20 for purchase, ICG.

This filmstrip traces U.S. financial and military involvement in Vietnam from the end of World War II to 1975. Sorting out the confusing chronology of events in Southeast Asia in those thirty years is a useful and necessary first step in studying about the war, and this filmstrip gives a clear picture of what happened when. Although it does not attempt to analyze the reasons for the U.S. presence, the carefully-documented quotations from government, military, and corporate leaders make clear that the motivations were never altruistic or idealistic.

The script includes footnotes, discussion questions, and suggestions for student activities.

Vietnam, Still America's War
BBC, 1974, 30 min., color. $5, AFSC.

This half-hour BBC documentary about the post-war war (1973-1975) shows how little the situation changed following the signing of the Peace Agreements. Comprised of interviews with U.S. military personnel and AFSC workers in hospitals, the film shows that although U.S. troops were withdrawn, "advisors" and dollars were as vital as ever for maintaining a foothold against the NLF. It makes the case that the U.S. blatantly disregarded the 1973 Agreements.

For classroom use, some explanation of the main provisions of the Agreements would be necessary.

See also:

American Empire, Swomley (chapters 13-14), p. 40.

Ho, Halberstam, p. 47.

Ho Chi Minh, Legend of Hanoi, Archer, p. 47.

The Logic of Withdrawal, Zinn, p. 38.

The Roots of American Foreign Policy, Kolko (chapter 4), p. 40.

Tradition and Revolution in Vietnam, Nguyen Khac Vien, p. 50.

Vietnam: Inside Story of a Guerrilla War, Burchett, p. 50.

Voices from the Plain of Jars, Branfman, p. 82.

Women of Vietnam, Eisen-Bergmann, p. 49.

See also the following issues of *Indochina Chronicle:*

*No. 27: *Congress and Indochina* (August 1973), $.35.

*No. 28: *Vietnam: Reconstructing the War* (October 1973), $.50 (analyzes U.S. plans for Vietnam after the 1973 Peace Agreements).

*No. 30: *The Paris Agreement, One Year Later* (January 1974), $.35.

No. 35: *United States Aid to Vietnamese Refugees* (August/September 1974), $.50 (Edward Block, ex-AID official. AID funds a financial bonanza for officials of the Saigon government).

No. 38: *The Second Year of the Paris Peace Agreement* (January/February 1975), $.50.

No. 56-57: *Vietnam: Rebuilding the South* (May/June 1977), $1, ten for $.65 each.

Americans are not Beautiful

*They are called MY**
Which my brother says means beautiful.
But they are not beautiful:
They have too much hair on their arms like monkeys,
They are tall like trees without branches,
Their eyes are green like eyes of boiled pigs
In the markets during the New Year.
Their hair is blonde and not black
Their skin is pink and not brown,
Their cars frighten cyclists in the streets,
Their "flying machines" and their "dragonflies"
Drop death on people and animals
And make trees bare of their leaves.
Here, Americans are not beautiful.
"But they are,
In their far away country"
My brother says.

Hoang Son, age 14
Saigon

Mother's Duties

In our land, mothers' duties are difficult:
There are countries where mothers teach children to love flowers,
In ours, mothers must teach children how to avoid bombs,
There are countries where mothers teach children to know musical notes and bird songs.
Here, mothers must teach children to distinguish the roar of the B-52 and the F-105.

O Virgin Mother, who holds your child,
Do you know that for months in my country
Mothers sleep far away from their children?
There were times when mothers needed to teach children only to be strong,
But when that's not enough, mothers must teach children to become heroes.

Hung Dung, age 15
Provisional Revolutionary Government

Poems from Of Quiet Courage.

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*Americans are called MY (Me-e) which means beautiful in Chinese and Vietnamese.

The Land and People of Indochina

American students' images of Indochina are almost all war-related. This section tries to broaden their perception of the area and its people by concentrating on geographic, cultural and social aspects of life there.

Other reasons for studying the land and its peoples are:

—To see the war in its historical context, students need to understand how Vietnam's geography made it attractive to invaders, and how cultural traditions shaped resistance to invasion.

—Prejudice against the peoples of Indochina was intensified because they are non-Caucasian, non-Western, and "underdeveloped." Learning about the daily lives of the Indochinese helps to break down racist stereotypes.

—Understanding the Vietnamese people is important for students now because of present realities: first, Americans have a responsibility to help rebuild the country our government destroyed. Second, thousands of Vietnamese evacuees now live in this country. Finally, we have an official relationship with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV) through the United Nations.

—An emphasis on land and people is especially appropriate for younger children who are not yet ready for the study of history and politics, yet need to understand something of what "Vietnam" means.

Student Activities

1. Use a nongraded pretest to check that students have basic information about Indochina:

—It is part of Asia.

—It is made up of three countries: Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia (Kampuchea [Kam-pu-*chee*-ya] since the war).

—You would fly west from the United States to reach Indochina.

—The capital cities of North and South Vietnam were Hanoi and Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City); since the war, Hanoi is the national capital.

—Most people in the region earn their living by farming; the basic food is rice.

—Vietnam is very small, about the size of California.

—Vietnam has been a country for about 1,000 years. During that time it has constantly fought off foreign invaders including China, France, Japan, and the United States.

2. How did China and India influence the peoples that were to become Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia? What were the differences between Chinese and Indian influences?

3. Using a world map, show how Southeast Asia has been a crossroads of trade: Chinese, Arabian, Indian and Indochinese ships traveled through the area in 1300-1500, carrying cloth, spices, and other local products. The port of Malacca (on the west coast of Malaysia) was once one of the key seaports of the world. It became important to European trade in the 1500s and 1600s because all ships passing from Europe and the Indian Ocean to China and the Pacific had to pass through the Straits of Malacca. Later Singapore became a port of comparable importance to British and Dutch interests in the area. Today, ships such as oil tankers from the Middle East continue to use the same route or pass through the islands of Indonesia on their way to Japan, Taiwan, and the United States. (Have students trace these routes on a world map, or preferably, a globe.)

4. Interview someone who has been to Southeast Asia about life there. What impressed the visitor most about the countries visited? Friendshipment and American Friends Service Committee, listed on page 97, are good sources for speakers.

5. Now that the war is over, what are some reasons why U.S. citizens might still be living in Southeast Asia? (Military bases in Thailand and Philippines; diplomatic staff; business people looking for labor, as in Singapore, raw materials, as in Indonesia, or places to sell their products, as in Manila.)

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6. Look up the following major products of Indochina and learn how they are used and what countries need them: rice, tea, tobacco, sugar, cotton, copra, rubber, palm oil, teak, opium, petroleum. Which of them does the United States import? Where else in the world can they be obtained? How has the war affected their production?

7. Plan a month's trip through Southeast Asia that will start in Bangkok, Thailand. What kinds of shots and vaccinations will you need? What kinds of clothes and equipment will you need? What route will you take? (Consider whether you are traveling as a business person, tourist, military officer, historian, scientist, journalist.) How long will it take? How much will it cost?

8. Discuss the differences between raising lowland and upland rice. How are people's ways of life affected by these different methods?

9. Prepare an Indochinese meal, accompanied by music. See p. 29 for recipes and p. 100 for records.

10. Every issue of *Vietnam* Magazine (see Photo Book Appendix) contains a Children's Corner with illustrated legends, folk tales, or heroic biographies. Ask students to examine several issues in small groups to discover what they can learn about the land and people of Vietnam from the stories and pictures. *Vietnam* is published by the SRV; can students tell what values the government is trying to encourage in students (e.g., loyalty, sacrifice for others, hard work, small animals winning over large ones)? What similarities and differences do they see from American folk tales, children's stories and cartoons?

11. Using photographs of Vietnamese life (see p. 101 for list of photo books), ask students to brainstorm differences they can see from American life. See if they can figure out the reason for each of the differences. Ask: if you lived in Vietnam, what would you miss most from your life here? In what ways might life in Vietnam be an improvement over your life here?

Books

Understanding Indochina Packet

includes the book *Indochina is People*, the filmstrip *Tell Them We Are People*, and excellent wall maps of Asia and of the peoples of mainland Southeast Asia. The packet can be ordered from United Church Press for $19.95. *Indochina is People* can be ordered separately from SRC for $3.25. *Tell Them We Are People* can be rented from AFSC for $5.00.

This packet is the best resource we know for teaching about the land and peoples of Indochina.

Tell Them We Are People

Don Luce, United Church Press, 1973, 19-minute color filmstrip with script, record and cassette.

The purpose of the filmstrip is evident in its title: "Tell them we are people. We are not slants, slopes or gooks! We are people!" Stunning photographs and a sensitive script present the beauty and harmony of traditional village life in Indochina. In this context, students can better understand the impact of the contrasting photos of refugee camps, bombed dikes, Saigon slums and defoliated forests. The script ends by quoting from Vietnamese religious leaders on their hopes for reconciliation and from the Vietnamese poet Hai Ha on his vision of a reunified Vietnam.

Indochina Is People

Peggy Shaker and Holmes Brown, United Church Press, 1973, 158 pp., pb.

The book has a similar point of view to that of the filmstrip: its authors care most that Americans should feel their common humanity with the peoples of Indochina. It is restrained in its criticism of the United States, showing respect for people on all sides, but it gently makes its points that "South Vietnam had to be made to fight a war it did not want" and that "any foreign effort to alter the course of Vietnamese history will ultimately fail."

Indochina Is People *was designed for self-teaching by concerned Americans of any age. It can easily be used by high school (and many junior high school) students, although it assumes some knowledge of events of the late 60s and early 70s. Material is organized chronologically into five sections, each covering one period of history and a related cultural topic such as religion or music. Excellent illustrations, questions, activities and bibliographies are included.*

Of Quiet Courage: Poems from Vietnam

Jacqui Chagnon and Don Luce, editors, Indochina Mobile Education Project, 1974, 152 pp., pb. $2.95, SRC. $2.95/ $1.50 ten or more, CALC, Washington.

The importance of poetry in Vietnamese life makes this handsome book a fine primer on the culture and history of Vietnam. The book is attractive, well designed for readability, and filled with numerous photos and Vietnamese drawings. Introductions to each section explain the social roots of the poetry: the importance of the family and reverence for ancestors' graves, forced urbanization, the materialism and corruption of values inflicted by U.S. aggression, the long history of foreign invaders.

The purpose of the editors is to show Americans the real Vietnamese people, to counteract war propaganda about "the enemy." Without being rhetorical the book succeeds in teaching the reader a good deal of Vietnamese history and culture in the introductions to the poems.

The poems selected are well-translated and accessible to Western readers, especially the children's poems and those that deal with families. Some fine examples are: "The Rice of Our Village," "Mother's Duties," and "The Mother on the Road." Also of interest is a five-page excerpt from the classic and often-referred-to "Tale of Kieu."

Depending on the poems used, the reading level is appropriate for junior high or high school readers.

Introductory Lessons: Indochina and the War

Indochina Curriculum Group, 1974. Teacher's guide, 16 pp., $1.00. Photo set, 7 pp., $.15, ICG.

These compact lesson plans encourage student interest in Vietnam, using a minimum of extra materials. Several of the activities, such as the opinion poll and the geographical introduction to Southeast Asia, have been incorporated into *The Vietnam Era*, although more detailed teaching suggestions are included in the *Introductory Lessons*.

Of the remaining activities, the most valuable are the suggestions for ways of using photographs to motivate and inform students. The photo sets, intended to be inexpensive enough so that each student can have a copy, include pictures of traditional village life, of G.I.'s, and of the effects of war. The teacher's guide supplies information about each photo, suggested questions, and writing activities.

Children of the Dragon
Terry Karl *et al.*, Peoples Press, 1974, 56 pp., pb. $1.75 each plus mailing costs/$1.35 each for ten or more plus 10% of mailing costs, Peoples Press.

This is a storybook about the lives of two children in North Vietnam during the war. Through the daily experiences of Tri and Hoa, cousins, the story explores extended families, life in a small village and life in Hanoi, and is filled with information and insight about the history and culture of Vietnam.

Though politically didactic in some ways (which would probably be more noticeable to teachers than students), *Children of the Dragon* has a number of uses for young readers. It provides good discussion material about war, Vietnamese culture and geography, history and social movements. In addition to being a pleasant story for children to read, it is a useful teaching tool.

Children of the Dragon includes a glossary, maps, and 25 illustrations (nine of them in color). It is appropriate for ages 7-14, and also entertaining and informative for adults.

The Vietnamese Cookbook
Hoang Huu Can, Ocean Books, 1972, 64 pp., pb. $3, CALC, New York.

Van Hoa Viet Nam (Culture of Viet Nam)
Don Luce, ed., Clergy and Laity Concerned, 1976, 16 pp. $.50, SRC. $.50/$.25 ten or more, CALC.

Culture of Viet Nam offers a brief, attractive introduction to the poetry, holidays and food of Vietnam. The three recipes included would make an easy and delicious meal.

For those who would enjoy exploring Vietnamese cooking further, the chef to the Vietnamese Peace Delegation in Paris has gathered a book of recipes which can be prepared with ingredients and tools available in the United States. The book is beautifully designed with Vietnamese woodcuts, photographs and poetry about rice and other traditional foods.

Indochina is People also includes recipes on pp. 129-131.

We the Vietnamese: Voices from Vietnam
Francois Sully, ed., Praeger Publishers, 1971, 265 pp., pb. $2.95.

Francois Sully was a French news correspondent who covered the Vietnam War(s) for 22 years. The book is constructed principally from what the Vietnamese have written about themselves: Emperor Bao Dai, Ngo Dinh Diem, Ho Chi Minh, Thich Nhat Han, Gen. Giap, and Nguyen Van Thieu are among the writers. There are glimpses of everyday life, including essays about a state farm in the North, the shops and street-life of southern cities, life in a tiny hamlet, in a university, in the rice fields of the Mekong Delta and on the battlegrounds in the Central Highlands. The subjects are as various as a Buddhist monk's letter to Martin Luther King explaining the religious rationale for self-immolation, advice to Americans about Vietnamese etiquette, and an analysis of the epic poem *Kim Van Kieu* as a key to the motivation of Vietnamese guerrillas. The overall thrust of the book is to present the people of Vietnam as having a distinct history and culture.

The New Year's Rice Cakes (Banh Chung Banh Day)
Vietnamese folk tale, SRC, 22 pp. $.50 each; $.35 for 10-99; $.25 for orders of 100 or more plus 20% of the postage, SRC.

This delightful folktale in coloring book format tells how the tradition of the rice cake became part of the Tet (New Year) festival in Vietnam. In the story, the king, passing over expensive and lavish gifts, chooses rice cakes (which symbolize earth and sky) to stand as a symbol of the New Year.

This traditional folktale is good for elementary classroom use when studying either Vietnam or folk cultures in general.

The Little Weaver of Thai-Yen Village
Tran Kanh Tuyet, Children's Book Press, 1977, 23 pp., pb. $2.95, SRC.

Written in both Vietnamese and English, this children's book is intended especially for the children of Vietnam who have resettled in this country since the war. Its author writes, "...for most of us, no matter how we came here, we long to return. Yet we realize that America may become our second homeland. And so we face a dilemma: as we readjust to this country and are assimilated, how can we maintain our pride and integrity, our dignity as a people? Or must we try to maintain our ethnicity in a kind of holding pattern until we do finally go home?"

Hien, the Vietnamese girl in the story, thrives on the beauty of her country and the love of her family and neighbors for one another until she is injured in the war and brought to the United States for medical treatment. She recovers, but does not know if she will ever return to her native land. She vows never to forget her country or her people, and weaves her love for them into blankets which she sends to Vietnam each year.

Strikingly illustrated in vivid colors, the book could be read to first graders and read by most other elementary-level students on their own. Junior high school teachers might also use it for discussion.

Cac Em Ve (Children's Drawings)
Kim Dong Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, 48 pp., pb. $2.50, SRC.

These full-color reproductions of paintings by Vietnamese children depict war and everyday life.

A Thousand Years of Vietnamese Poetry
Nguyen Ngoc Bich, translator, with Burton Rafael and W.S. Merwin, Knopf, 1975, 210 pp., pb. $4.95.

This book is a survey of Vietnamese poetry from feudal to modern times, from which teachers could select poems for classroom use. The modern section provides a few good poems from the U.S. war years. The early feudal poems, because of explicit sexual references, might not be appropriate for use with high school students.

The Southeast Asian World
Keith Buchanan, Doubleday-Anchor, 1967, 169 pp., pb. $5.95.

This is an excellent introduction to Southeast Asia — its geography, food-getting economies, population, cultures and nations. Keith Buchanan is a professional geographer, and highly reliable as an author. Although most useful for teacher reference, this book could be read by an able high school student.

The Peasants of North Vietnam
Gerard Chaliand, Penguin Books, 1968, 244 pp., pb. Out of print. Cellar Book Shop has a few copies.

Gerard Chaliand traveled extensively in the DRV in 1967 and this firsthand account includes his own impressions, a number of brief historical digressions in which he attempts to put events in context, and transcripts of interviews he conducted with numerous officials, party cadres and peasants. This account, especially the transcripts, shows how the war appeared to the Vietnamese themselves.

The first-hand reportage on the war is excellent, and the transcripts, in which the Vietnamese describe in their own words what has happened to them during the last generation, are an invaluable resource. They enable American readers to see the war from the Vietnamese side, through the eyes of people who describe events in a down-to-earth and very moving way.

Vietnamese Photo Books

Vietnam, Our Beloved Land
Nguyen Cao Dam and Tran Cao Linh, Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1968, 124 pp., pb. $3.75.

This collection of strikingly beautiful photographs, many of them winners in international photography contests, concentrates on the Vietnamese landscape. Some pictures are included which would give students a sense of village life and agriculture. The text is not very useful as it assumes that Western technology will soon eliminate traditional customs.

North Vietnam
Marc Riboud (text) and Phillipe Devillers (photos), Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970, pb. $5.95. Out of print.

The 120 pages of captioned black and white photos in this book are divided into eight sections: Bombing, Countryside, Factories, Soldiers, School, Religion, Leadership, Hanoi. Also included are 22 pages of history, background, and documents. This is an excellent resource.

Spirit of the Land: Cuban Photographs of Vietnam
Peoples Press, 1972, pb. Out of print.

This book contains 60 pages of black and white photographs taken by two Cuban journalists in May, 1970. The pictures are excellent for giving a feeling for the people and their way of life, both in peace and in war. The captions are poems, quotes from officials, or editorial explanations.

Anh Nghe Thuat Viet Nam
Hanoi, 1971, pb. $2, Vietnam Resource Center.

The 92 pages of black and white photos of Vietnamese life are generally better quality than the following book.

Nuoc Viet Nam Dan Chu Cong Hoa 25 Tuoi 9/20/70 (The Democratic Republic of Vietnam Is 25 Years Old)
Hanoi, 1970, pb. $2, Vietnam Resource Center.

This book is 130 pages of black and white photos, useful for classroom bulletin boards and photo displays. Captions are in Vietnamese, Russian, Chinese, French and English.

See also:

The Ivory Comb, p. 48.

Tradition and Revolution in Vietnam, Nguyen Khac Vien, p. 50.

Vietnamese Women in Society and Revolution, vol. 1, *The French Colonial Period*, Ngo Vinh Long, p. 19.

Women of Vietnam, Eisen-Bergmann, p. 49.

Inside North Vietnam (F), p. 51.

Year of the Tiger (F), p. 51.

Dictionaries

Teachers with an interest in Vietnamese language may contact the Frederick Ungar Publishing Company to inquire about the recently re-issued *Vietnamese-English, English-Vietnamese Dictionary* ($15) by Le Ba Kang and Le Ba Khanh, and the "Vietnamese/English Phrase Book," ($2.25) by Le Ngoc Diep. Recent publishing notes on Ungar also mentioned a Vietnamese/English grammar book by Duon Danh Rien and a guide to Vietnamese customs for Americans, by Dr. Vuon G. Thuy.

(The Indochina Curriculum Group has not seen these texts.)

Vietnam and United States Foreign Policy

This section addresses the question "Why were we in Vietnam?" and asks students to think about the official and unofficial reasons for United States intervention. These involved not just Vietnam, but U.S. interests throughout the world.

Though the subject is among the most difficult to teach, we feel it is important because:

—United States government policy in Vietnam was not an isolated phenomenon. This section encourages students to make global connections: to evaluate the lessons of past foreign policies and to see parallels between Vietnam and contemporary (and future) liberation struggles.

—Learning about who makes and affects foreign policy, how the U.S. Vietnam policy was designed, and the discrepancies between public and private objectives, encourages a healthy skepticism about the uses of power.

—Students need to consider the economic basis of foreign policies, and to distinguish economic from ideological motivations.

—Students will also have a chance to see that the design and practice of U.S. foreign policy are more complicated than the simple division of the world into "the communist bloc" and "the free world." Materials in this section can be used to help discuss what was behind the U.S. anti-communist stance during the cold war and the Vietnam era.

—Questions about militarism can appropriately be raised in this section: what is the role of the military in making foreign policy, as well as in carrying it out?

Much of what has been written or filmed about foreign policy is not designed for high school students. To counter the lack of materials we have added an unusually long section here of student activities.

Diem, Dulles, and Eisenhower, 1957.

Student Activities

1. What is meant by "foreign policy"? (definitions of "friends" and "enemies"; treaties and alliances; trade policies such as tariffs and embargoes; foreign aid; sales of arms, food, fuel, manufactured goods, etc.; war and peace; participation in international organizations; and travel restrictions)

2. Have students describe which qualities they feel a country should possess in order to be considered a "friend" or an "enemy" of the United States, choosing from the list below and adding characteristics which they think are missing:

A country which is: democratic; free of human rights violations; a trading partner; an ally in former wars; strategically located militarily or economically; opposed to U.S. enemies; an underdeveloped nation desiring U.S. aid; fighting for economic or political independence; racially segregated; racially integrated; seeking to invade the U.S.; seeking to dominate the U.S.; competing economically; a dictatorship; a dictatorship which trades with the U.S.; a dictatorship where the U.S. wants to have military bases; critical of U.S. domestic or foreign policies; an enemy in former wars; based on a different ideology; trying to dominate another country politically or economically.

A country whose: resources are needed or desired by U.S. businesses; policies are agreeable to our government; policies are agreeable to our people; economic system is capitalist; economic system is socialist; independence conflicts with U.S. business or military interests.

Next have students discuss whether, based on their knowledge or impressions of the National Liberation Front and Democratic Republic of Vietnam, they consider those governments to have been friends or enemies of the United States. What about the former Republic of Vietnam, or the present Socialist Republic of Vietnam? Does United States policy agree or disagree with students' definitions?

3. Student Activities Nos. 2, 4, and 5 from the Land and People section on p. 26-27 are particularly appropriate when considering questions of U.S. foreign policy in Southeast Asia.

4. Use the simulation game "Laguna" from the *Vietnam Curriculum* (see p. 38) to help students understand the similarities between Vietnam and other developing countries. Section VI, "American Attitudes and Policies Towards Communism and Revolution," is especially useful in examining the underlying assumptions which shape different foreign policies. Whether students choose to support or reject the anti-communist basis of United States policy in Vietnam, "Laguna" will force them to base their judgments on careful thought rather than on stereotyped reactions.

A U.S. Army colonel advises officers of Diem's army, 1955.

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5. Discuss who makes foreign policy: What powers are the Congress and President supposed to have? How were Constitutional powers and limits observed, expanded, abused, ignored during the Vietnam Era? What other government bodies besides the President and Congress make policy? Brainstorm for all the groups the class can think of: Joint Chiefs of Staff, State Department, Commerce Department, Treasury Department, CIA, Defense Department, National Security Council, Agency for International Development, and others. Have someone come to the board and circle all the ones which are directly responsible to the voters.

What groups or individuals have more input into American foreign policy than the average citizen? (large corporations, labor unions, the mass media, wealthy individuals, organizations with lobbying arms, those who know people in high official positions) How is their influence exerted? How does their influence compare with that of the average citizen?

What can you do to affect foreign policy? How else besides elections can the public influence the policy-making process? (See Antiwar section.)

6. Evaluate current foreign policy by giving students the following list of United States government foreign policies:

—The U.S. government in 1974 exported about 50 percent of its agricultural products to the developed countries, 15 percent to the oil-producing countries, and only nine percent to the less developed countries of Africa, Latin America and South Asia.

—The U.S. is engaged in negotiations with the USSR for the mutual and balanced reduction of forces.

—Over half of American investment in sub-Saharan Africa is located in the Union of South Africa, whose government practices apartheid.

—The U.S. government maintains trade and travel restrictions to Vietnam.

—The CIA is involved in the domestic affairs of other nations.

—The U.S. government favors the introduction of nuclear reactors in the Middle East.

Ask students to:

—choose one policy which they would like to see changed (they might choose an alternative to those listed)

—explain why they would like to see it changed

—specify how they would go about changing it

—consider who else would favor changing the policy

—consider who would support the policy as it stands, and why.

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7. Use the opinion poll on p. 37:

a. Have students fill out the poll themselves before studying about the war. Don't discuss the results at this time, but use them as an indicator of class attitudes and compare how they respond to the same poll at the end of the unit. At that point you could ask them to rank order the reasons.

b. Discuss the validity of the class sample as a measure of opinion in your community, or opinion in the United States as a whole. Ask: Do you think your opinions would have been different if you had fought in the war? If you had fought in World War II? If you owned an arms factory? If you were the mother of a POW? If you were the president of the United States? If you were a draft resister? For each question ask how the opinion would be different and why.

Plan a method for polling a representative sample of your community: (Note: the further we get from the war, the vaguer people's ideas about it become. As time passes, a community survey may not yield clear enough results to warrant the effort involved.)

c. Discuss how to organize the information gathered. Some possibilities are:

—Tally how many people checked each reason. This will identify the most "popular" explanations of the war, but will not give any understanding of what may have affected people's opinions.

—Sort the replies into those who supported the war in 1973 and those who did not, or (if very few say that they supported the war at that late date) into those who chose reason No. 1 on the survey and those who chose No. 2. Compare reasons chosen.

—Choose two contrasting subgroups, such as Vietnam vets and veterans of other wars, and look for patterns of differences in the reasons they chose.

—See if there is any apparent relationship between sources of information and support/non-support of the war or reasons predominantly chosen.

—Ask what reasons you would tend to choose if you saw the world as essentially divided between communist countries (viewed as dictatorships), and capitalist countries (viewed as democracies), with the United States as leader of the "free world" (Nos. 1, 4, 9, possibly 6, 8, 10). Which would you choose if you saw the world as divided between rich and poor countries, with the United States as leader of rich countries which exploit poor countries (Nos. 2, 3, 5, 7, possibly 6, 8, 10)? Ask: Would holding one view or the other tend to make you for or against the war? Could you hold a free/communist view and still oppose the war? Could you hold a rich/poor view and still support the war?

d. Ask students to discuss which variables seem to them to have been most important in shaping their own choices and the choices of the class.

Opinion Poll: Why Did the United States Go to War in Vietnam?

Age ________

Sex ________

Occupation ____________________

Education ____________________

Are you a veteran? ________ Of what war(s)? ____________________

At the time of the peace agreements in 1973, did you support the Vietnam War? ____________________

Has your opinion ever changed about the war? ________ If so, why? ____________________

____

When? ____________________

What is your opinion about why the United States went to war in Vietnam? If none of the statements below expresses your opinion, write your own explanation in the space at the end of the survey. Check as many as you strongly agree with.

☐ 1. The U.S. government wanted to protect the people of South Vietnam from communist aggression.
☐ 2. The U.S. government wanted to stop the people of Vietnam from choosing communism.
☐ 3. American corporations wanted to control the markets of Southeast Asia and to exploit its labor and natural resources.
☐ 4. The United States needed to honor its treaty commitments in Southeast Asia to show our allies we could be counted on.
☐ 5. Winning in Vietnam would prove to other "underdeveloped" countries that revolutions for national independence could not win.
☐ 6. The U.S. government and armed forces wanted to prove to the world that the American military could not be defeated.
☐ 7. The American military-industrial complex needed the war to test and to sell its products — guns, bombs and planes.
☐ 8. If Vietnam became communist, the United States would not be allowed to keep its strategic military bases there.
☐ 9. Vietnamese peasants needed the help of more advanced countries to learn how to govern themselves.
☐ 10. The U.S. government made a mistake in getting involved in the conflict in Vietnam.

Books

Laguna: A Study in Modernization

From "Introductory Units," part of *Vietnam Curriculum*, Boston Area Teaching Project, Inc., The New York Review of Books, 1968, 36 pp. $3.00 for the whole curriculum, ICG or AFSC.

This teaching unit focuses on "Laguna," an imaginary Third World developing nation. Students read a short history of the country, examine its problems, and formulate various plans for its future development. Detailed discussion guides compare Laguna to other developing nations (communist and non-communist) since World War II, and contrast the American Revolution with twentieth-century communist revolutions. Finally, students are asked to consider their attitudes toward communism and to decide what foreign policy the United States should have toward nations like Laguna. This is an excellent unit which combines individual research, critical thinking, and attitude examination.

Overall, it provides a context in which to explore student attitudes toward communism, developing nations, and foreign policy. Reading selections present the positive side of developing communist nations, but the suggested structure of class discussion encourages students to consider a range of opinions and to examine their own opinions carefully.

Classroom discussion would be most effective with students who have a strong background in United States and world history and good reasoning ability.

Vietnam — The Logic of Withdrawal

Howard Zinn, Beacon Press, 1967, 125 pp. Out of print.

Though out of print, this is an important and well-written book which could be read by students or easily used by teachers to raise questions, present historical facts and understand the "logic of withdrawal" — the path the United States could have taken 10 or 20 years ago.

The last five pages are reason enough to find this book. It is a speech written by Zinn, which President Johnson *could* have given to the American people in 1967, stating our reasons for withdrawing and the positive direction we will take towards rebuilding Vietnam and working toward the "Great Society" here. It raises issues of saving face, internal and external aggression, coexistence with communist nations and learning from past experience as well as looking at what the Vietnamese want.

Other chapters, in spite of the book's having been written so early in the war, are still useful for understanding Vietnam in the context of United States foreign policy. As an historian, Zinn has dozens of examples at his fingertips to demonstrate his positions that, for example, no great power can be trusted when self-determination for other nations is at stake, or that communist revolutions are caused primarily by internal socio-economic conditions rather than by external aggression.

The Global City Kit
Institute for Education in Peace and Justice, 1976, three color filmstrips, cassettes, script, readings, and activities. $50 purchase, $15-$20 rental depending on ability to pay, IEPJ.

The *Global City Kit* is useful for introducing the concept of "the Third World" and for showing not only how the world's resources are unequally distributed, but how the present international economic system perpetuates and increases inequalities between rich nations and poor nations. Although Vietnam is mentioned only once (the use of "Food for Peace" sales to support Thieu's military budget is given as an example of foreign aid abuses), the kit provides a context for generally understanding U.S. involvement in the Third World.

The heart of the kit is three color filmstrips: "The Maldistribution of Resources" (including sections on world hunger, energy, and military expenditures); "The Economic Rules of the Game" (including terms of trade, foreign investment, and foreign aid); and "Global Interdependence." The script is dense with information, but an excellent teacher's guide suggests ways to adapt it to different age levels from junior high school through adult and to relate the filmstrip to other materials in the kit. It is designed to allow a class to study just one topic, such as world hunger, or to spend several weeks exploring the whole kit.

Some aspects of the kit that we like are: it emphasizes that we are interdependent with the rest of the world and must be concerned about people and problems outside our own communities; it shows how "orderly" systems created by the developed countries in fact can be a form of institutional violence; it suggests that political action and changes in lifestyle can make a difference.

The second filmstrip, "The Economic Rules of the Game," emphasizes the profit drive of multinational corporations as a major cause of economic inequalities. The kit's overriding theme, however, is not that capitalism must be overturned but that competition among nation-states must give way to cooperation among all the people of the world through international organizations. It encourages students to become aware of their ties to other parts of the globe and to consider how problems such as exploitation, pollution and war might be approached from a global rather than a national point of view.

The Coming of the Strangers
Indochina Curriculum Group, 1974, 95 pp., pb. $1.50, ICG.

This collection of stories and short excerpts from historical documents traces the history of a colonized people, from the first arrival of the foreign conquerors to the beginnings of a revolutionary movement. Though the stories are set in the Philippines, they reflect almost any colonial situation. Questions accompany each story, and the book is illustrated by drawings and photographs.

The Coming of the Strangers is designed specifically as a high school classroom reader. Stories and graphics are interesting and lively enough to appeal also to junior high classes. Selections from six to 30 pages long are followed by questions to use as discussion-starters.

The Word for the World Is Forest
Ursula K. LeGuin, Berkeley Publishing Corp., 1972, 169 pp., pb. $1.50.

This science fiction book tells a story that may be seen as an analogy to U.S. involvement in Vietnam. The Earth of the future runs out of trees (among other things) and sends colonists to the forested planet of Athshe to plunder the wood while disregarding the inhabitants' lives and needs. The aggressive, sexist earth-men enslave the native people who at first do not fight back because it is against their concept of life. In the end, however, one of the Forest People (called "creechies" by colonists) leads a successful revolt against the earthlings.

A perceptive student who knows something about U.S. involvement in Vietnam should be able to see the parallels in this book between Vietnam and Athshe. This novel, like all of LeGuin's books, is infused with an opposition to classism, sexism, hierarchy, and oppression. This is a wonderful resource for students interested in science fiction.

The Opium Trail: Heroin and Imperialism
Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, New England Free Press, 1972, 85 pp., pb. $.60, NEFP.

This pamphlet on the heroin trade exposes the connections among the U.S. military-industrial establishment, the CIA, reactionary officials in Southeast Asia, and corrupt local drug enforcement agencies in the States. Interviews document the repressive aspects of heroin addiction in the armed forces in Vietnam and in ghettos at home.

Despite its overtly radical stance, the arguments are well-documented. The subject matter is of interest to high school students. Some street language may restrict its use. The pamphlet is divided into short, distinct chapters with many illustrations, is set in large type and was written with high school students in mind.

The Enemy: What Every American Should Know about Imperialism
Felix Greene, Vintage, 1970, 391 pp., pb. $2.45.

The Age of Imperialism: Economics of United States Foreign Policy
Harry Magdoff, Monthly Review Press, 1969, 202 pp., pb. $3.45.

American Empire: The Politics of Twentieth Century Conquest
John W. Swomley, Jr., Macmillan, 1970, 250 pp., pb. $1.95.

The Roots of American Foreign Policy
Gabriel Kolko, Beacon Press, 1969, 166 pp., pb. $2.95.

In order to understand the war in Vietnam, it is necessary to know something about imperialism — the ultimate result of capitalism's need for expansion, greater profits, and an increasingly wider sphere of control. These four books explain imperialism and portray United States foreign policy since World War II as a governmental safeguard for United States investments abroad. Using a variety of examples, they assert that foreign policy has not defended democracy or freedom, but has tried to keep the world safe for capitalism by "thwart[ing] political or social change that interferes with a narrowly conceived national interest" (Swomley), the interest of the few huge corporations that control a majority of the wealth in this country and in the world. Readers accustomed to apologists for American intervention abroad will see all these accounts as biased. Though three of the four books are probably too hard for high school readers, we think imperialism is an important concept to try to introduce.

We highly recommend Felix Greene's *The Enemy* as a readable introduction to the theory of imperialism, although it does not analyze the situation in Vietnam specifically. The least academic of the four, it is worth reading in its entirety to understand the scope of imperialism worldwide, and the enormity of human suffering inflicted by "developed" nations. The book is a fierce criticism of capitalism, but a hopeful one. It offers convincing proof of the necessity of overthrowing — not reforming — capitalism, and explores the question, "Where do we fit in the struggle against it?"

Harry Magdoff's *The Age of Imperialism* is a classic introduction to economic imperialism. It deals briefly with Vietnam as an example of U.S. strategy for control of Asia, then expands his explanations of that strategy. Of the four books, this assumes the most sophisticated grasp of economics.

John W. Swomley, Jr., takes an historical approach to United States foreign policy since 1939 in *American Empire.* Two chapters (30 pages in all) on Vietnam give a concise, factual history of United States involvement, showing how it fits into a counterrevolutionary pattern. Other chapters (on Munich, Pearl Harbor, World War II, Cuba, Korea, Cold War) may also be useful, but the whole book will probably be accessible to only the best high school readers.

Gabriel Kolko's *The Roots of American Foreign Policy,* Chapter 4, "The U.S. in Vietnam, 1944-66," examines the Vietnam war as part of a reaction to an international economic and political crisis stemming from World War II. The chapter supplies a detailed analysis, from the Potsdam Conference, to U.S. financial assistance to the French, to the Geneva Conference, to SEATO, and finally to direct U.S. "intervention against a nationalist revolutionary movement" (p. 89). The book is difficult reading, usable only as a teacher resource.

War Without End
Michael Klare, Vintage, 1972, 464 pp., pb. $2.95.

Klare argues that United States intervention in Vietnam was not a mistake, but the logical expression of a counterinsurgency stance which was worked out during the Kennedy presidency of the early 1960s. Klare attempts to place U.S. intervention in Vietnam in the context of the history of the U.S. military. Basing his argument on a wealth of documentary evidence, much of it drawn from the writings of U.S. generals and military planners, he also shows that the policy of intervention, along with the means to implement it, is still being expanded and refined in spite of the check suffered by the United States in Vietnam.

New Englanders might find Klare's analysis of the Kennedy presidency especially interesting. Klare explores John Kennedy's role as an energetic promoter, even the creator, of the U.S. counter-insurgency apparatus.

This is definitely a background resource for teachers. The 50 pages of footnotes at the end of the volume are alone worth the sale price.

"The Strange Economics of the Vietnam War"
"There's a Toyota in Their Future"
Articles by Banning Garrett, pp. 32-39, and James Ridgeway, pp. 40-41, *Ramparts*, November, 1971. Reprints $.50, ICG.

Garrett's article on the pattern of foreign encroachment in Vietnam develops the thesis that "Vietnam has been a special war in more than one sense. Contrary to the imperial pattern, it has been a war to *create* economic opportunity rather than merely to seize existing resources and treasure." The Ridgeway article illustrates this by presenting some of the plans that American and Japanese investors had for post-war development. Their optimism, and their rosy view of how Vietnam benefited from foreign involvement, are startling. One enthusiastic official is quoted as saying (of the new industries developed in Vietnam): "These things don't hit the papers. There's been a lot of killing. No one likes that, but you can find fault with anything if you pick, pick, pick."

Although too difficult for student use, these are valuable for teacher self-education.

USSR
CHINA
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Films and slideshows

◇ **Why Vietnam?**
Department of Defense, 1965, 32 min., black and white. $5.00, AFSC, Cambridge.

Produced by the Directorate for Armed Forces Information and Education to indoctrinate American forces en route to Vietnam, *Why Vietnam?* presents the official case for the United States' Indochina intervention. Leaning heavily on pro-American and anti-communist feeling, it presents the North Vietnamese "invasion" of South Vietnam as parallel to the North Korean invasion of South Korea and to Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The film became an object of public controversy when it was released for public showings in high schools and on television. Senator J. William Fulbright in *The Pentagon Propaganda Machine* called it "an historically false, blatant piece of propaganda." It is extremely useful in the classroom both because it is technically slick enough to hold students' interest and because it clearly demonstrates the role of propaganda in building support for the war. It is no longer distributed by the government.

Who Invited Us?
Peter Davis, 1970, 58 min., black and white, $60 ($45 high school), Tricontinental.

This historical survey of U.S. military interventions provides a context for understanding the Vietnam War although Vietnam is covered only briefly.

Special emphasis is placed on U.S. relations with Latin America from the Mexican-American War of 1846 and the Spanish-American War of 1898 through the Alliance for Progress and more recent interventions in Guatemala, Santo Domingo and the Bay of Pigs. Also included are scenes of a U.S.-sponsored seminar for Latin American military leaders, and interviews with former top CIA officials.

The first reel is hard-hitting and direct, asking why U.S. armed forces have so often interfered in the operations of foreign governments. The answer suggested in the film is that the armed forces were consistently trying to create territories safe for U.S. businesses. The second reel is ambiguous, disorganized and equivocating; it could well be omitted.

This was originally made for National Educational Television and then not aired by them.

Sharing Global Resources: Toward a New Economic Order
NARMIC/AFSC, 1976, 35 min., color. Slideshow with cassette, documentation and study guides in English or Spanish, $50 to buy. Filmstrip version (English only), $45. $10 rental (any version).

Sharing Global Resources examines the problems caused by the current system of production by huge multinational corporations which obtain raw materials from poverty-stricken areas of the world. The case studies of Anaconda in Jamaica and Kennecott in Chile are poignant examples of the fundamental structural inequities in the global economic system that the New International Economic Order, at its best, is designed to change. The slide show also examines related demands for economic justice in Appalachia, on Native American reservations, and elsewhere in the United States.

The effectiveness of this presentation is based on NARMIC's detailed research, on the extensive use of interviews with Third World spokespeople, and on dramatic charts, graphs, and cartoons. Its objectives are not to provide definite answers, but to raise questions, to stimulate discussion, and to challenge viewers to consider what they can do for greater economic justice in the world.

Clearly this is a great deal of material to cover in a short time, but upper-level high school students should be able to manage it. The script is divided into three parts to make discussion easier. For students who want to understand Vietnam in a broader context, it raises important questions about whether humanity can find a peaceful way to share the earth's resources.

The Selling of the Pentagon
N.E.T., 1971, 54 min., black and white. $40 ($20 high school), Newsreel.

This is a powerful documentary about militarism in American life. The film focuses on the Pentagon and the huge amount of money it spends on "selling" its weapons programs to the public. Students can see very vividly how millions are spent to cultivate a public opinion favorable to billion-dollar military appropriations. Though the film doesn't directly concern itself with Vietnam, it does reveal the propaganda techniques that are used to sell military adventures to the American people.

General Wheeler briefs Johnson, McNamara, and ranking officers at the beginning of the Tet offensive, January 29, 1968.

See also:

The Indochina Story, CCAS, p. 17.

Myth of the Bloodbath, Porter, p. 20.

Pentagon Papers, p. 18.

"The Presidency Rampant: Vietnam," Arthur Schlesinger, p. 19.

The United States in Vietnam, Kahin and Lewis, p. 16.

Hearts and Minds (F), p. 21.

So the People Should Know (F), p. 76.

The United States in Vietnam: How Did It Happen? (F), p. 21.

See also the following issues of *Indochina Chronicle:*

*No. 18: *Heroin Traffic in Southeast Asia* (August 1972), $.35.

No. 19: *Bloodbath: Myth or Reality?* Porter (September 1972), $.35.

No. 33: *U.S. Political Warfare in Vietnam,* Porter and Sprages (June 1974), $.35.

No. 48: *Interpreting the War,* Chomsky, Griffen, Knowles, Marciano (April 1976), $.75.

*Single copy only available.

Vietnamese Liberation Movements

To most Americans, the Vietnamese seemed to be either a faceless enemy or helpless peasants unable to survive without United States help. The little information we were given about them was slanted to support U.S. government policy.

In fact, Vietnamese resistance was highly organized, highly politicized, and committed to a definite and popular goal: the reunification and liberation of Vietnam. The key to understanding how this underdeveloped, peasant country could defeat American technology is to look at the long history of their liberation movements. The Vietnamese had something on their side, and it wasn't technology.

The resources in this section attempt to provide a factual and human picture of the "enemy" for these reasons:

—Exposure to the liberation movements helps us understand what motivated the Vietnamese to resist outside aggression from the Chinese, French, Japanese and Americans for so many years. Who were these people? What were their hopes for their country?

—It is important to contrast the dominant American perception of the North Vietnamese as aggressors attempting to conquer South Vietnam with the dominant Vietnamese perception of the liberation fighters as nationalists endeavoring to unify Vietnam and end foreign domination.

—Eager to discredit the National Liberation Front, the U.S. government portrayed them as ruthlessly terrorizing the countryside. Actually, the Front was a broadly-based popular movement which depended on the goodwill and trust of the people for its success.

—"Fighting communism" was a central reason offered for U.S. intervention in Indochina. Students who study the liberation movements may be able to distinguish between "communism" used as a propagandistic label and communism as a social, economic and political structure attractive to some Vietnamese because of their history and culture.

—An understanding of the nature of the liberation effort in Vietnam is a key to understanding liberation movements in the rest of the world. What happened in Vietnam is not so different from what is happening today in Africa and Latin America.

Student Activities

1. Ask students who have read one of the books on Ho Chi Minh: "Uncle Ho" is loved and respected throughout Vietnam. What in his thoughts and actions do you think accounts for the importance he has as a symbol to the people of Vietnam?

2. Ask students to compare our Declaration of Independence with Vietnam's (available in *The United States in Vietnam*, p. 345, and in "History and Issues of the War" section of the *Vietnam Curriculum*). Why do you think the Vietnamese used the U.S. Declaration as a model? How are the two declarations similar?

3. Ask students who have read *The Village of Ben Suc* to write a short description of the National Liberation Front from the point of view of a) a member of the village, b) one of the U.S. officers planning the attack on the village, c) a G.I. taking part in the attack.

4. Ho Chi Minh said, "Failing to free women means failing to liberate half of humanity. Failing to free women means that the building of Socialism is only half completed..." *Women of Vietnam*, p. 215.

Vietnamese revolutionaries understood themselves to be struggling not only against foreign domination, but also against the oppression of women that was traditional in their country. Ask a student to read parts of *Women of Vietnam*, *Vietnamese Women in Society and Revolution*, *Spirit of the People*, or *The Ivory Comb* and report on how the movements for national liberation and women's liberation have been linked. What is the Women's Union?

5. Ask what changes were made in the North after the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was established in 1945. What definition of "liberation" do these changes suggest?

6. "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" was a slogan of the Vietnamese revolution. Have students brainstorm all the possible meanings of "freedom" and rank order them according to their personal values. Then ask in what order they think someone in Vietnam would arrange the meanings.

7. Assign students to role play the following members of a Vietnamese family: a member of the NLF, a member of the ARVN, a Buddhist who opposes Thieu but does not believe in killing, a worker with an underground paper in Saigon, a worker in the U.S. Embassy, one who is undecided. Each is to try to persuade the undecided person to agree with her/his position. Give students time to prepare for their roles by reading selections from this section. (Additional background information can be found in ch. 13, "The Choice," *Vietnam: The Unheard Voices*, Don Luce and John Sommer, Cornell U. Press, 1969, 324 pp., pb. $1.00, CALC; and *The Third Force in South Vietnam*, NARMIC/AFSC, 1975, 28 pp., $.25 , AFSC.)

Books

Ho
David Halberstam, Vintage, 117 pp., pb. $1.65. Out of print.

Ho Chi Minh — Legend of Hanoi
Jules Archer, Crowell-Collier, 1971, 190 pp., cloth, $4.95.

These are the best biographies of Ho Chi Minh we've found for students. They both give a relatively sympathetic and accurate account of Ho's goals and influences. Although Lacouture's *Ho Chi Minh* and Neumann-Hoditz's *Portrait of Ho Chi Minh* are better known, we felt they would be too difficult to read and they both presume much more European colonial history than do Halberstam and Archer.

Ho almost reads like a novel, starting with the defeat of the French in 1954 and leading into the beginning of U.S. military presence. The rest of the book backtracks to develop both the man and the historical circumstances in Vietnam and worldwide.

Halberstam explains how communism influenced Ho's thoughts and actions and what communism meant for the Vietnamese. Few books we've found have this combination of objectivity and respect for the goals of the revolution.

If a student likes history, then this book is a good way to learn about how world events and ideas affect a man and the hopes of an entire country. Concise and well written, for good readers.

The first part of Archer's biography consists of simplistic personalizing of how Ho felt, without using quotes and as though Archer were there. Forty pages are spent on Ho's early life: the remaining 150 pages cover the period 1940-1971.

The strong point of the book, despite the usual anti-communist digs, is the period of U.S. involvement from World War II. The focus is not so heavily on Ho as on the whole liberation struggle and the efforts to counter it by the United States and the ARVN.

It is clear to the reader, however, that Ho is the leader of the DRV and an inspiration for the Vietnamese people's determination to win their independence.

The book focuses on heads of states but also recognizes the role of South Vietnamese peasants and the U.S. anti-war movement in determining the outcome of the war. Not as interesting reading as Halberstam's book, but still useful for good readers in covering a person and a period.

Prison Diary

Ho Chi Minh, Hanoi: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1946, 34 pp., pb. Out of print, but SRC has one copy and is willing to copy it.

Sometimes whimsical, sometimes wise, sometimes political — these poems can give students a unique insight into the then-imprisoned Vietnamese revolutionary, Ho Chi Minh. The poems were written about 1942 when Ho was imprisoned by the Chinese. He spent 14 months in 30 different jails. Ho's writing will be a surprise to students who have little exposure to politicians as poets, and may help to provoke interesting discussions. Ho is inflexibly committed to the vision of an independent and unified Vietnam, and at the same time comes across as a human being with a sense of beauty and humor.

Prison Diary may be hard to find, but it's one of the few writings by Ho that we found translated that can easily be read in either junior high or high school classrooms.

The Ivory Comb

South Vietnam: Giai Phong Publishing House, 1968, 139 pp., pb. $.75, SRC.

This collection of seven Vietnamese stories illustrates various aspects of life in South Vietnam during the United States war years. In general, the graceful translations make these stories quite readable. The following are especially recommended:

"The Son," which tells of a family sending its 16-year-old son to join the NLF rather than allowing him to be press-ganged into Diem's forces; "The Native Land," the story of a "strategic hamlet" regaining its freedom with the help of the NLF; and "The Ivory Comb," a lovely, touching story of a liberation fighter's love for his daughter, whom he has seldom seen. "The Ivory Comb" and other stories in this book are also printed in *The Phoenix Country.*

Spirit of the People: The Role of Vietnamese Women in the Revolution

Margaret Randall, New Star Books, 1975, 92 pp., pb. $2.50, New Star Books.

These excerpts from Margaret Randall's diary of her 1974 trip to North Vietnam and liberated areas of the South describe women's experiences and roles in the Vietnamese present and recent past.

The participation of women in the revolution is especially highlighted. Although there is some reflection on the historical status of women, Randall focuses mostly on portraits of contemporary women at work, in prison, and struggling with marriage and divorce.

Read as a whole, Randall's book describes women changing their lives inside and outside. The style is simple, full of the writer's own impressions, and is definitely aimed at an American audience. It would be particularly appropriate for high school women interested in the women's movement — for other students (or those unconvinced that the revolution was a "good thing") the style might be a little heavy-handed.

Phoenix Country

Nigel Gray, ed., *Fireweed* Special Issue, September, 1976, 188 pp., pb. $2.75, SRC.

This is a special edition of the British publication *Fireweed,* in support of the British Hospital for Vietnam. The anthology contains moving stories, photos, firsthand accounts, and poems about the Vietnam War by British, Vietnamese, and American contributors. Among the stories particularly recommended for high school students are John Gerassi's "The 2nd of August 1966" and Nguyen Sang's "The Ivory Comb." The volume also contains several other stories from the book *The Ivory Comb* in much more readable and graceful translations than in the Hanoi version.

Philip Jones Griffiths' photos of war victims may be too gruesome for most students, but another photo essay, "The People Live," gives a hopeful outlook. In fact, since most photo books about Vietnam are out of print, this issue is worth its price for the 48 pages of photos it supplies.

Women of Vietnam
Arlene Eisen-Bergman, Peoples Press, 1975, 258 pp., pb. $3.95, SRC.

The politics of Arlene Eisen-Bergman and the collective of women who edited and produced this book are clearly socialist-feminist. For this reason and because the early chapters describe women's degradation at the hands of various oppressors very graphically, the book is probably not a useful classroom tool. It assumes political sympathy with the Vietnamese and with the women's movement, and would be fine background reading for a teacher or for adult groups who are already "convinced."

In spite of the drawbacks mentioned, this book is an excellent and well-documented history of women in Vietnam. It is divided into two parts: the oppression of women under Confucian, French and American domination; and the strides made by women in the North and in the PRG zones in the South. Part one is predictably horrifying and depressing, but part two lifts the reader's spirits and sights page after page. This revised and enlarged edition of the original (1974) book includes material after the PRG's 1975 victory, as well as interviews from the author's trip to Vietnam in September, 1974. It also has excellent photos, drawings, and complete footnotes.

Under Fire: Growing Up on the Plain of Jars
Indochina Curriculum Group, 1974, 94 pp., pb. $1.50, ICG.

This book is the short autobiography of a young man who grew up on the Plain of Jars in Laos. He tells of the corruption, relocations, and suffering caused by war, and especially by the bombing of the Plain of Jars in 1968-69. Reunited with his mother after several years' absence from her village, the son hears how well the Pathet Lao (Lao Independence Front) have organized the village to make everyone's life easier and healthier. His mother's account makes him decide to work to develop his country for the common good rather than for his own private gain.

Also included in the book are discussion questions for classroom use, background material on the bombing of the Plain of Jars, and newspaper articles on United States involvement in Laos.

Photographs, drawings, and maps make this an attractive book for classroom use.

Women's Roles in Vietnam
Ann Froines, notes and bibliography from a course entitled "A Hero Need Not Have a Beard."

A 13-page bibliography on women in Vietnam is available free from Ann Froines, Women's Studies, University of Massachusetts, Boston, MA 02125. Copies of the articles (45 pp.) listed in the bibliography are available from the same address for $2.75 (mailing costs plus five cents a page). Checks payable to Ann Froines. Topics covered include:

—Impact of U.S. Imperialism on Women

—Women's Participation in the Liberation War

—Women's Roles in Building Socialism

—The Vietnam War and Women in the United States

The articles have been collected from a variety of sources: publications from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (before 1975), newspaper and magazine articles by American journalists and antiwar activists, translated Vietnamese stories, interviews and personal narratives, and poetry. These articles are appropriate for high school and college level students and particularly useful for classroom discussion.

Tradition and Revolution in Vietnam
Nguyen Khac Vien, Southeast Asia Resource Center, 1974, 169 pp., pb. $2.65, SRC.

In seven essays, Nguyen Khac Vien tries to show that socialist revolution grows out of the history and culture of the Vietnamese people. Written in a style which is graceful and unpretentious, this book gives a human face to Vietnamese socialism.

The essays are too sophisticated for student reading, with one exception: in "The Old Banyan Tree," six pages long, the author recalls scenes from his childhood in a North Vietnamese village. He describes both the pleasures of traditional village life and the hardships of French taxes, drunken village notables, child marriages and impassable roads; then he contrasts the improved life after land reform.

For teacher background reading, *Tradition and Revolution* is one of the best sources available for understanding how the Vietnamese view their own struggle and their place in history among the capitalist, socialist and Third World countries.

Another essay, "Confucianism and Marxism," offers fascinating insights into the history of Vietnamese thought as the author develops his thesis that Confucianism, by concentrating on the political and social problems of this life rather than an afterlife, prepared Vietnam for the transition from traditional to socialist life. "The Judo Lesson" explains how a small, weak country could prevail against far stronger opponents. "The American War" analyzes the different phases of U.S. military involvement in Indochina in light of Vien's view that it was essentially part of a worldwide strategy of counterrevolution.

Vietnam: Inside Story of the Guerrilla War
Wilfred G. Burchett, International Publishers, 1965. Out of print.

Vietnam Will Win
Wilfred G. Burchett, International Publishers, 1968. Out of print.

The Second Indochina War
Wilfred G. Burchett, International Publishers, 1970. Out of print.

Burchett is an Australian journalist who has traveled in and written about Asia for 30 years. *Inside Story* describes his experiences with the NLF, focusing on organization and structure and including stories that convey the popularity of the NLF among the peasant areas they governed.

These accounts give a vivid sense of the determined resourcefulness of the peasant guerrillas and of their links with the people in the South. Some of the short biographies are useful for showing the kind of people who threw themselves into the fight for national liberation. "Mother Carbine and Her Children" (Chapter 8) has been used successfully with students.

Another of Burchett's books, *Vietnam Will Win*, has also been used by teachers we've talked with. For a history of Cambodia and Laos, *The Second Indochina War* is an important book. All of Burchett's books combine documented history with accounts of his own experiences behind the lines — an inside vantage point he gained earlier than many journalists because of his public stance as a socialist and an early supporter of the NLF.

A real interest in the subject is necessary for reading any of these books in their entirety.

Films and slideshows

Inside North Vietnam
Felix Greene, 1968, 85 min., color. $100 ($50 high school), Newsreel.

Though made in the late 1960s, *Inside North Vietnam* remains one of the most useful films about Vietnam. The film gives the war a fully human dimension by introducing Americans to their former "enemy." It presents a lovely picture of traditional Vietnamese life and the way in which the communists have built on tradition and family patterns in constructing a new society.

The destruction caused by U.S. bombing is shown, but the grotesque physical harm caused to human beings is not over-emphasized. The film is definitely in favor of the domestic aims of the North Vietnamese and is supportive of their struggle against U.S. aggression.

Year of the Tiger
Odeon Films, 1974, 60 min., color. $50, Odeon Films. (The filmmakers are shortening it to 30 minutes. When requesting film, ask for the shorter version, if ready.)

This is an important post-Peace-Agreements film, focusing on the process of reconstruction in North Vietnam and liberated areas of South Vietnam. It is clear, non-rhetorical, and does not look on the Vietnamese people as helpless victims in an unexplained war. Rather, it documents their determination to rebuild their country after seven years of devastating bombing.

The filmmakers visited schools, daycare centers, hospitals, factories and farms. There is an emphasis on children and the film was designed for use in high school classrooms.

See also:

Fire in the Lake (section on the NLF), Fitzgerald, p. 20.

Of Quiet Courage, Chagnon and Luce, p. 28.

The Peasants of North Vietnam, Chaliand, p. 30.

Vietnam: A Thousand Years of Struggle, Cannon, p. 15.

Vietnam! Vietnam! Greene, p. 16.

Vietnamese Photo Books, p. 31.

Vietnamese Women in Society and Revolution, vol. 1, *The French Colonial Period,* Ngo Vinh Long, p. 19.

The Vietnamese Revolution, Goldston, p. 15.

"Know Your Enemy" (F) in *Index of Army Motion Pictures for Public Non-profit Use,* p. 64.

The Young Puppeteers (F), Vietnamese, p. 88.

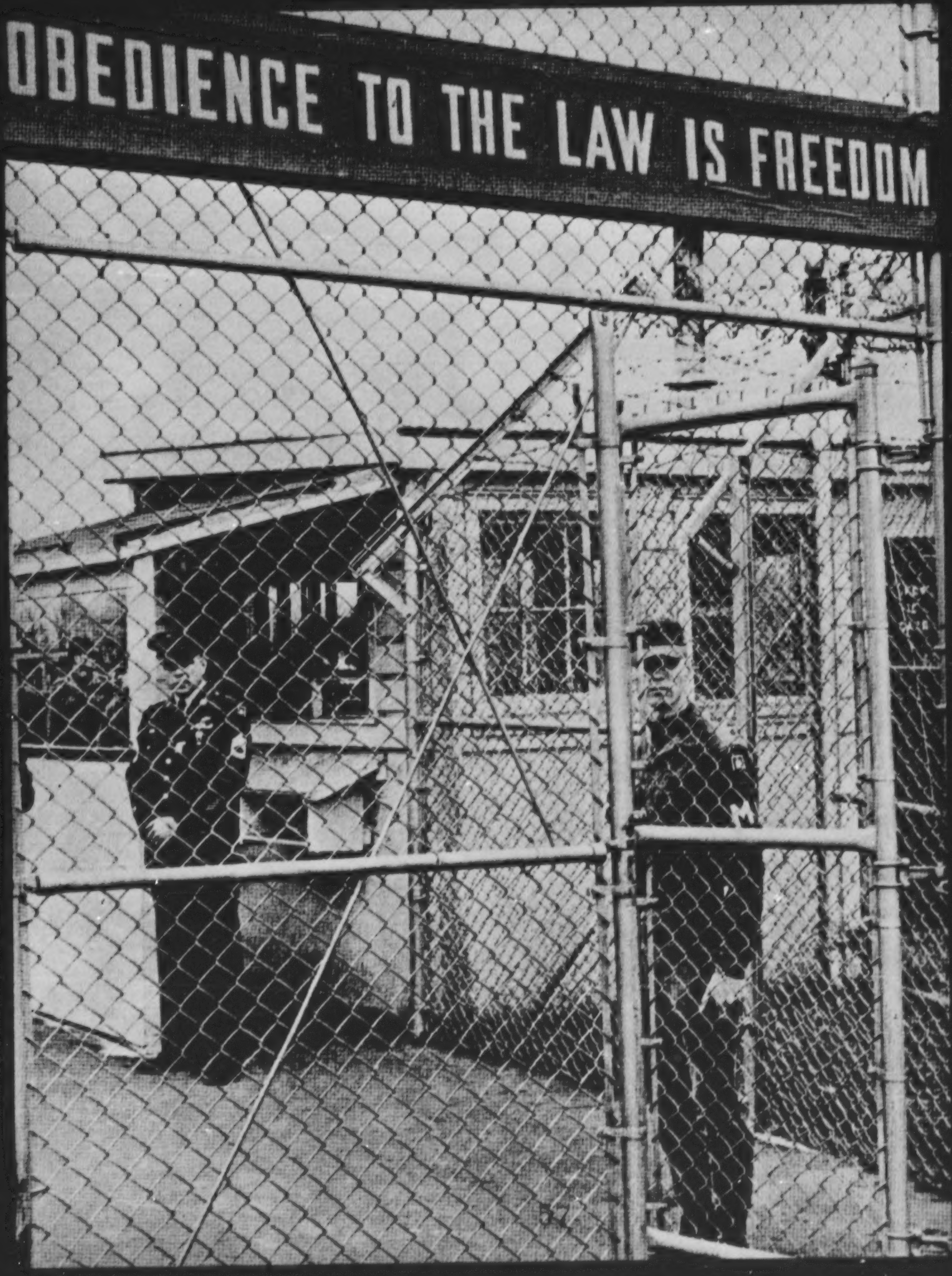
See also the following issues of *Indochina Chronicle:*

*No. 31: *The Vietnam People's Army,* Tran Van Dinh (February 1974), $.35.

*No. 32: *The Provisional Revolutionary Government* (April 1974), $.35.

No. 40: *"With the Only Weapons We Have," Resistance in Saigon's Prisons* (April 1975), $.50.

*Single copy only available.


OBEDIENCE TO THE LAW IS FREEDOM

G.I. Experiences

Who were the men who trekked through the jungles of Vietnam, dropped the bombs or went on "search and destroy" missions? Why did they go, and what did they learn from their experiences there? What dilemmas did G.I.'s face in Vietnam, and at home? What was it really like — in their own words, not the words of experts, journalists or presidents?

We feel it is important to present the G.I.'s version of the war experience for several reasons:

—First-hand accounts make the war real. For high school students now, many of whom don't remember seeing reports from Vietnam on television, the war is a distant historical event.

—Because many of these accounts are by men in their late teens, students may find it easy to identify with them and their dilemmas.

—G.I. experiences presented here illustrate how some G.I.'s became politicized, and why they became opposed to U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

—G.I. experience reveals a great deal about the racism and classism of the Vietnam War, and of the military as an institution.

—The war's effects are still felt in the problems faced by returned veterans: unemployment, the need for increased veterans' benefits, drug addiction, medical problems, difficulties readjusting, and the absence of a universal, unconditional amnesty for veterans who resisted the war.

—Though the draft has been deactivated, the high rate of unemployment makes the volunteer army an alternative for some men and women. What these G.I.'s have to say about their military experiences presents a message different from that of recruitment posters.

This section by no means presents the whole range of soldiers' experiences of the war. Many books and movies are available about men who found the military an opportunity to prove themselves and who, although they may have concluded that "war is hell," did not find their political or ethical attitudes deeply shaken. Where such accounts are not too racist or sexist, teachers may want to address the question of a "balanced view" by encouraging students to read or view some of them.

Student Activities

1. Choose several of the soldiers whose stories are included in this section and imagine what they might discuss if they met either now or during the war. Include promilitary and antimilitary, Black and white, pilots and ground troops, officers and enlisted men. Ask students to improvise the discussion as they think it might develop. Specific suggestions involving soldiers in *Front Lines* are found on p. 130 of that book.

2. Invite Vietnam veterans to your class to be interviewed (see Appendix, p. 97, for names of organizations to contact). Select more than one veteran, representing different experiences: officer/enlisted; early/late; prowar/antiwar; Third World/white; and so forth. Some suggested questions:

a. Did you have a clear idea of why you were fighting? What was it? Did it change?

b. During basic training or your tour of duty, what did the military teach you about the Vietnamese? Did your experience bear this out?

c. How did the other men you were fighting with feel about the war? and the military?

d. How did you/they feel about the antiwar movement in the United States? What were your sources of information about the antiwar movement?

e. Did you find that minorities and whites in your unit or in the military were treated similarly or differently? How did Black and white G.I.'s get along?

f. How do you feel you have been treated by the Veterans Administration since your discharge?

3. In a 1967 speech, "Beyond Vietnam," Martin Luther King, Jr., said: "We were taking the Black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them 8,000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in Southwest Georgia and East Harlem. So we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to get them together in the same schools.

"...I knew that America would never invest the necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some destructive suction tube. So I was increasingly compelled to see the war as an enemy of the poor" (see p. 65).

What did King mean? Do you think that the Black soldiers in *Front Lines* or *G.I. José* would agree with him?

4. Compare poems from *Winning Hearts and Minds* and *Demilitarized Zones* with those from *Of Quiet Courage*. American G.I.'s and Vietnamese had such different experiences of the war — are there any themes or feelings they have in common?

5. Compare the images of military life presented in recruitment posters and ads to those in the readings in this section. Have students role play a debate between an armed forces recruiter and a Vietnam veteran about the advantages of enlisting.

Books

◊ **Front Lines: Soldiers' Writings from Vietnam**
Indochina Curriculum Group, 1975, 135 pp., pb. $2, ICG.

As the title suggests, this is a collection of first-hand accounts: poems, diaries, letters, and interviews by the men who fought — or in some cases, refused to fight — in Vietnam. Well-edited for readability, the selections are illustrated with photos, drawings, and maps. Each piece includes questions for discussion.

Great effort has been expended to make *Front Lines* a balanced picture of viewpoints on the war: Black and white, American and Vietnamese, pro- and antiwar and G.I.'s and officers. *Front Lines* does not press the antiwar point of view, but lets the men's experiences and opinions speak for themselves. Questions at the end of each selection stress how each man made his decision or felt as he did, and ask for students' own reactions.

The book is written for use in junior high or high school classes, with discussion questions, a glossary and a bibliography. Selections are short enough to be read in a couple of class periods even by less able readers.

A teacher's guide (17 pp.), containing additional questions and suggestions for activities, is available from ICG for $.50 or free with 15 or more copies of *Front Lines*.

Free Fire Zone: Stories by Vietnam Veterans
Wayne Karlin, Basil T. Paquet, Larry Rottman, eds., First Casualty Press, 1973, 208 pp., pb. $1, ICG.

◊ **Winning Hearts and Minds: War Poems by Vietnam Veterans**
Larry Rottman, Jan Barry, and Basil T. Paquet, eds., McGraw-Hill, 1972, 116 pp., pb. $1.95, SRC. $1.30/$.75 ten or more, CALC, Washington.

These two books are the writings of American soldiers in Vietnam who recoiled from the war and their own complicity in it. As the introduction to *Free Fire Zone* says, the stories "offer a collective insight into the price paid by both peoples when one culture attempts to strip another of its dignity and destroy its gods." Most of the stories in *Free Fire Zone* are unusable in a high school classroom because of street language and explicit sex scenes. However, two very short ones, "Thi Bong Dzu" (7 pp.) and "Children Sleeping — Bombs Dropping" (3 pp.), focus on the children of Vietnam, and could be reproduced for use in classrooms.

Winning Hearts and Minds is a more useful book: the poems mirror the writers' feelings more directly than do the above stories, and several selections are appropriate for classroom discussion. Some of the most usable are "APO 96225" (p. 9), "Gut Catcher" (21), "Man of God" (24), "Viet-Nam" (26), "Cobra Pilot" (49), "Thap Ba" (51), "Memorial for Man in Black Pajamas" (94), "What Kind of War" (97), "Brothers" (104), and "The Longest War" (111).

W.D. Ehrhart, one of the poets in *Winning Hearts and Minds*, has published an anthology of his Vietnam poems, *A Generation of Peace* (1975, 47 pp., available for $5.50 from New Voices Publishing Co., 146-47 29th Ave., Flushing, NY 11354).

Demilitarized Zones: Veterans after Vietnam
Jan Barry and W.D. Ehrhart, eds., East River Anthology, 1976, 177 pp., pb. $2.95, SRC.

This moving anthology of veterans' poetry covers both their experiences in Vietnam and their reentry into American society. Also included are historical poems about significant events of the 60s and 70s. The editors chose material that is strongly antiwar, antimilitary, and pro-Vietnam, although selections vary from author to author.

The best selections deal with war experience or the situation in the United States circa 1972-1976. Selections of particular interest include "Sorry," "Rice Will Grow Again," "The Children," "War Poem," "Faces," "Ben Tre Suburb," "Prisoners of War," "They Said," and "Viet Nam."

For junior high or high school use.

No Victory Parades: The Return of the Vietnam Veteran
Murray Polner, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971, 165 pp., cloth. $5.95. Out of print.

This book is a study of the impact of Vietnam on nine white lower-middle and working-class veterans. The stories are divided into three "Hawks," three "Doves," and three "Haunted."

All the men written of here chose to enter the service, by either enlisting or accepting the draft, and were in Vietnam between 1964 and 1969. Though each story is unique, there are basic similarities reflected in their military experiences in Vietnam. Their experiences seemed to solidify their positions on the war — both pro and con — and led them to find different ways of coping with the world once they were out of the military.

Each of these is a story by itself, and can be read that way. All are well-written (some street language is used), and each is a valuable contribution to the growing oral history literature on G.I. experience in Vietnam.

G.I.'s Speak Out Against the War: The Case of the Fort Jackson 8
Fred Halstead, Pathfinder Press, 1970, 128 pp., pb. $1.75.

In January, 1969, a few Black and Puerto Rican soldiers at Fort Jackson gathered to listen to tapes of Malcolm X talking about the oppression of Third World people and of poor whites. As their enthusiasm for his ideas grew, they invited others to come — including white G.I.'s who believed in "equality and self-determination for all people." From these meetings developed G.I.'s United Against the War, which became so effective in its organizing that by March eight of its leaders were in the stockade or under barracks arrest.

One of the strengths of G.I.'s United was that it was based on the legal rights of G.I.'s as citizens. The men involved continued to obey orders, but they insisted on their rights to speak out on the war, to pass out leaflets and newspapers, to attend meetings and to petition. Their appeal to the American civil liberties traditions won them widespread publicity and support, which finally forced the Army to drop charges against them.

This is important reading for students because it raises fundamental questions about the war, the military, and U.S. power structures generally in the soldiers' own words, without leading to cynicism or despair. The soldiers' tone is one of excitement about the power that they find in working together. The chapter "Pulley, Rudder and Cole" (pp. 31-48) gives a good summary of their story and would be appropriate for classroom use.

The New Soldier
John Kerry and the VVAW, Collier, 1971, 174 pp., pb. $3.95.

The Winter Soldier Investigation
Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Beacon Press, 1972, 172 pp., pb/cloth. $2.45/$6.95. Out of print.

Both of these books tell the story of the Winter Soldier Investigation of February, 1971, during which veterans testified about their participation in, or observation of, atrocities committed by G.I.'s during the war.

Kerry's book includes excerpts from the Investigation testimony, accompanied by photographs of a related veteran action, Dewey Canyon III, the VVAW Washington gathering in April, 1971, when vets marched on the Capitol and returned their medals. As a classroom resource, *The New Soldier* is useful for the photos alone. In addition to excerpts, this text includes a four-page, first-person account by Robert Muller, a gung-ho Marine who returned from Vietnam a disillusioned paraplegic. The story makes excellent reading for a high school class because of his vivid description of the realities of war in Vietnam and his insistence that citizens must participate actively in their government rather than follow its orders blindly.

For students or teachers interested in more of the hearings, *The Winter Soldier Investigation* highlights crucial testimony from some 75 veterans and four civilians. (During the three-day hearings, more than 100 soldiers and 16 civilians gave firsthand testimony to war crimes; the unabridged transcript runs 1000 pages.)

Recurring themes in both books include war crimes in which vets participated, the contempt for "gooks" which the military instilled in them, widespread use of drugs, and the indifference of the Veterans Administration to soldiers' needs once they were home. Teachers should be aware that some vets describe atrocities, including rape, in detail.

A film on the same subject is also available (see p. 63).

Born on the Fourth of July
Ron Kovic, McGraw-Hill, 1976, 208 pp., pb/cloth. $1.95/$7.95.

Ron Kovic was 19 when he was shot in Vietnam and paralyzed from the chest down. The strength of his book lies in its personal testimony, arranged around three themes. The first is his all-American boyhood: growing up in a tightly-knit lower-middle-class neighborhood, admiring and emulating sports and movie heroes, enlisting in the Marines when he was 17. The second theme concerns his experiences in boot camp and then in Vietnam. The third theme is his reentry into American society and "everyday life": the physical and psychological struggle of adjusting as a wounded vet, and his participation in the veterans' rights and antiwar movements. The language is direct, the story dramatic.

High school classes in several disciplines could use the text effectively. For history and social studies classes it provides a direct personal response to a unique period in American history. English classes could read it as an example of autobiography. The book is short enough for a good high school reader to read in a couple of days. Because it is a story with dramatic buildup, it is probably best read in its entirety.

Teachers should be aware of Kovic's use of street language and his explicit discussion of sexuality.

A Hero's Welcome
James A. Daly and Lee Bergman, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1975, 267 pp., cloth. $8.50.

Daly and Bergman have written a fascinating account of Daly's life in the military from 1966-1974. It is also the story of a Black American trying to figure out what his values are in the United States, where his options are limited by his race and economic status.

Daly joined the army under the impression that he would get noncombatant status as a Seventh-Day Adventist. Instead, he was sent to Vietnam, was captured by the NLF, and spent five years as a POW. During his imprisonment he became sympathetic to the Vietnamese cause and joined a small group of antiwar prisoners called the Peace Committee. After his release and return to the United States, charges were pressed against members of the Peace Committee for their antiwar writings and interviews. It was only after one member of the Committee committed suicide that charges were dropped.

Well-written in a condensed and dynamic style, this is a good resource for high school students. Black students particularly should be able to identify with and learn from Daly's struggles. Teachers should be warned of some street language.

"Two Pilots, Two Wars"
Steven B. Roberts, *New York Times Magazine*, June 10, 1973.

This article contrasts the attitudes of a pilot in World War II, who firmly believes in what he did, with a pilot during the war in Vietnam, whose faith was shaken by his experience. It might be useful in sorting out criticisms of Vietnam from opposition to war in general. Students could be referred to it individually, or parts could be reproduced for classroom reading.

P.O.W.: Two Years with the Vietcong
George Smith, Ramparts Press, 1971, 304 pp., pb/cloth. SRC, pb. $2.95 or CALC, New York, pb/cloth, $1, limited supply.

P.O.W. is the personal account of a young Green Beret held captive for two years by the NLF. It was the first detailed picture of life in NLF areas, and the first intimate portrait of the "Vietcong" to come out of the war.

Smith writes of his life growing up, his boot camp days, and his experiences in the NLF prison camp. He traces his emerging respect for the NLF and its cause, reflects on his changing attitude toward his captors, and documents the growth of his interest in the American antiwar movement.

Most of the book is about life in the prison camp, but the epilogue focusing on Smith's return home is an integral part of the story. Upon his release, he spoke openly of his newly-formed stance against U.S. involvement, and was subsequently held by the army for "debriefing" and eventually charged under Article 104 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice: "aiding the enemy." Although charges were finally resolved in Smith's favor, the epilogue makes clear that Smith ultimately left the army feeling betrayed.

This is engaging and easy reading for high school students — with some street language.

A Rumor of War
Philip Caputo, Ballantine Books, 1977, 328 pp., pb. $2.25.

Philip Caputo, a second Lieutenant in the Marine Corps, arrived in Vietnam in 1965 exhilarated by the prospect of "an adventurous expedition" to stop communism in Southeast Asia. Yet as his year in Vietnam unfolded, the romance of battle, the sweet comradeship among buddies, and the pleasures of success under fire slowly and inexorably began to sour. The oppressive heat, the plague of insects and skin disease, the sudden death by booby trap, the unrelenting pressure to raise the enemy body count all took their toll. Worse in Caputo's opinion was that the war left all of them moral casualties, blind to everything except revenge for the deaths of their buddies — revenge that led them to kill civilians and destroy villages without compunction.

At the end of his year's duty, Caputo could say, "Our idealism was lost, our morals corrupted, and the purpose forgotten." He can explain how this happened, but not why. Yet his account provides the reader with one of the clearest pictures of the look, taste, touch and smell of Vietnam for the American soldier on the ground.

We would recommend that the book be used for individual student reports by able readers. There is a heavy dose of street language and a no-holds-barred approach to descriptions of battle violence. Although Caputo does not analyze the rationale for the U.S. intervention in Vietnam, the book does teach a most important lesson: that those who fight the wars never know why they are there, and worse, they don't really care.

Fighting Back
Rocky Bleier, with Terry O'Neil, Warner Books, 1975, pb. $1.95. (Excerpted in *Sports Illustrated*, 42:76-80, June 9, 1975.)

This book is the personal story of Rocky Bleier, a famous halfback for the Pittsburgh Steelers. He tells of his experiences of being drafted, basic training, and battle experience in Vietnam. During his tour of duty he was critically wounded, but was saved by another soldier. Although he might have died, and definitely wasn't expected to walk again, his strong will and great effort led him back to a successful sports career.

The best use for this book is independent reading, particularly for students interested in sports. He has no special political viewpoint, although Bleier talks candidly about his experiences and treatment during the war.

War Year
Joe W. Haldeman, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972. Out of print.

This fictionalized version of a white, 19-year-old Oklahoman's combat experience in 1968 gives realistic details of Army life. Not terribly interesting in style or message, it nevertheless is easy to read, and not as bad as most war novels. Though geared to use in junior high or high school classes, a liberal sprinkling of "fuck" and "shit" may prohibit its use in some schools.

Though not worth a group assignment, this book could be suggested to a student for an extra report. It has some redeeming features that distinguish it from the standard trashy war novel: lack of racist remarks about the Vietnamese, the narrator's disaffection is expressed in mildly political terms, and relative lack of sexism.

The Vietnam Photo Book
Mark Jury, Grossman, 1971, 160 pp., pb/cloth. $3.95/$8.95. Out of print.

Through his own photos and interviews, Jury shows the "New Action Army" of the Vietnam era: peace signs, Black power, antiwar graffiti, drugs and "fragging." He contrasts the hardships of G.I. life with the officer clubs and Bob Hope shows. The focus is on Army life rather than on the country of Vietnam itself. Except for a section in Saigon and the Quaker rehabilitation center at Quang Ngai, there is little comment on traditional Vietnamese life.

Jury's hope in writing this book was "that the soldiers who look at these shots will be able to say, 'That's how it was.' "

The Vietnam Photo Book can be easily used in high school classes. Mostly colloquial and anecdotal, Jury's comments are quite readable. The photos could be used without text. Street language in graffiti and one brothel photo might limit the book's use in some schools.

Nothing and So Be It: A Personal Search for Meaning in War
Oriana Fallaci, Doubleday, 1972, 320 pp., cloth. Out of print.

Fallaci's moving account of her fascination with and ambivalence about war, heroism, death and survival makes this a compelling account not only about the Vietnam War but about the larger human issues surrounding it.

She has organized this book as a personal journal, describing the events of war while she confronts the personal conflicts she faced in reporting it. She writes of the G.I.'s she encountered, the South Vietnamese officials and Vietnamese prisoners of war she interviewed, her colleagues around the *France Presse* office, and her experiences at the front and on bombing raids.

Fallaci's writing is direct and lively — almost as compelling as a good novel. Teachers might want to excerpt parts or at least make the book available to students doing independent reading.

Nine Things to Remember When You Visit the Recruiter!
American Friends Service Committee, $.10/10 for $.70, FOR.

Recruiter's Promises: How Good Are They?
American Friends Service Committee, $.10/10 for $.70, FOR.

Considering ROTC? A Guide for the Prospective Cadet
American Friends Service Committee, $.10/10 for $.70, FOR.

So You'd Fight If. . .
Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, $.05/10 for $.40, FOR.

Blacks in the Military: The Myth of Equal Opportunity
Center for National Security Studies, $.10/10 for $.70, FOR.

The Militarization of Woman
Sue Kinchy, Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, $.05/10 for $.40, FOR.

These flyers can serve as a consumer's guide for students considering joining the military. All are readable by high school students, and the first four were written specifically for young people.

Nine Things to Remember and *Recruiter's Promises* give concise information about what to expect in a recruiting interview and what to be wary of. They warn that an enlistment contract is not equally binding on the recruit and the military; for example, the armed forces are not obligated to assign their members to the course of training or location specified at the time of enlistment, but a dissatisfied enlistee is not free to resign.

Considering ROTC? goes beyond giving information about misleading promises and questions the basic ideals of military service. Similarly, *So You'd Fight If. . .* asks students to consider what kind of war they would be willing to fight: one against injustice or poverty? One for oil? Limited nuclear war? All-out nuclear war?

Blacks in the Military and *The Militarization of Woman* examine the ways that Blacks and women, forced into the military by unemployment and discrimination in the job market, face similar discrimination within the armed forces.

A free list of literature from FOR contains many other flyers and reprints for teachers, parents and guidance counselors concerned about the growing attractiveness of the military to students.

Why amnesty for all?

WHY AMNESTY FOR DAVID MINUGH?

He left the army. Trained in interrogation and torture, he went to Sweden rather than use those skills in Vietnam. Exiled since 1970, he needs an Honorable Discharge to come home.

—There are 4500-30,000 "deserters-at-large" like Dave.

WHY AMNESTY FOR GERRY CONDON?

He refused orders to Vietnam after training as a Green Beret. Although "home", he needs an Honorable Discharge for a chance at a job and social acceptance.

—There are 792,503 Vietnam-era vets with bad discharges, many just like Gerry.

WHY AMNESTY FOR MARVIN WILSON?

He is a victim of the discharge system. Wounded and decorated, he had no due process when falsely accused by commanding officers. Stigmatized for life with a bad discharge, he needs an Honorable Discharge to get a job, and veterans' benefits.

—The rest of the 792,503 vets are like Marvin.

WHY AMNESTY FOR JANE KENNEDY?

She damaged draft files and de-magnetized tapes used to make napalm. She served two prison terms, and needs her "criminal" record cleared and her civil rights restored.

—There are thousands of civilian resisters like Jane.

WHEN CALLED TO FIGHT IN VIETNAM THEY RESISTED AN UNJUST WAR

Amnesty Packet
Gold Star Parents for Amnesty, newsclips, reprints and pamphlets.

Teachers interested in amnesty or veterans' rights should start by contacting Patricia Simon at Gold Star Parents for Amnesty for the most recent material.

GSPA is a national organization of parents whose sons were killed in Vietnam, and who support universal, unconditional amnesty, veterans' rights, discharge upgrading, and reconstruction aid to Vietnam.

The contents of their amnesty packet constantly change in order to stay current. Included are a variety of newsclips and reprints, particularly on the Ford and Carter clemency programs and the issue of discharge upgrading for vets and such GSPA publications as: "Some Special Points of View on the Question of Amnesty" (personal statements by Gold Star Parents), "Answers to Arguments Frequently Given Against Universal, Unconditional Amnesty," "Amnesty and Vietnam War Dead: Who Will Be Dishonored?"

GSPA also has information about other organizations working on veterans rights and who will provide materials and information to interested teachers. Such organizations (fully listed on p. 97) include: National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors, Committee of Concerned Conscientious Objectors, Fellowship of Reconciliation, National Military Discharge Review Project (affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union), Veterans Education Project (outreach for veterans with bad papers), Vietnam Veterans Action Committee (Washington, D.C., lobbying office), Vietnam Era Veterans Group in Congress led by Rep. David Bonior of Michigan.

GSPA materials are good discussion starters, and classroom work could be adequately supplemented by materials from the above groups.

"Why Not Amnesty for All?"
(reprinted p. 61) National Council for Universal Unconditional Amnesty, 1977.

For teachers who have only enough time to introduce the concept of amnesty, this advertisement briefly presents the need for unconditional amnesty. Presenting five people who would be affected — and whose cases are symbolic of many others who would be affected by a true amnesty — the advertisement illustrates why the Ford and Carter programs were partial, and discriminatory, measures.

This advertisement wonderfully sums up the entire amnesty issue: who needs it and why. Students could be assigned — individually or as a class — further research into each of the five categories of resisters needing amnesty.

Films and slideshows

Only the Beginning
Newsreel, 1971, 20 min., color, $30 ($15 high school).

In April, 1971, thousands of G.I.'s came to Washington, D.C., to protest the Vietnam War. In a dramatic gesture of non-collaboration, they stood in front of the Capitol and threw away their medals. "A guy comes to Nam and he finds out that a communist is an 18-year-old kid or a woman with children," says one G.I. A Black G.I. says, "They kept saying the words 'Cong,' 'slopehead,' 'slant-eyes,' and I said, 'hey, those are the same words they use in the U.S. against me.' "

This is a good film to use in understanding the G.I. antiwar movement. It is a political film with the message that this was a war fought by the poor for the rich, a war not in the interest of the G.I.'s.

High school teachers would find this a most effective film, though it contains some street language.

The New Soldier (see p. 57) contains still photos of the same demonstration.

Winter Soldier
Newsreel, 1971, 20 min., black and white, $25 ($13 high school).

This powerful film presents footage from the 1971 Detroit hearings conducted by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

The Winter Soldier hearings were three days of investigation modeled on the Nuremberg war crimes tribunal, during which G.I.'s testified about atrocities committed or witnessed by them. In the film, several men who served in Vietnam between 1968 and 1970 indict the U.S. military for the torture and killing in which they participated.

High school classes could view the film separately or in conjunction with the book of the same name, or with *The New Soldier* (see p. 57). Teachers should be aware that the film contains explicit description of four nurses being raped, tortured and killed.

G.I. José
Newsreel, 1972, 20 min., color, $30 ($15 high school).

G.I. José follows a Puerto Rican man through his optimistic induction into the army — he sees the military as a way to learn a skill, get a job later and have an income while learning. The film ends by showing his bitterness, frustration, and disenchantment with the military. He concludes, though, as do other G.I.'s interviewed in this movie, that it's better to understand the system than be "conned" by it.

The movie also presents a racial analysis of the war — it not only explains why the G.I.'s were so often working-class, non-white men, but presents the war itself as a racist one.

G.I. José would definitely be useful in high school classes, particularly Spanish-speaking classrooms. The film raises questions still relevant today about what choices are available to high-school-educated men of either Black or white working-class families. Street language is used.

No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger
David Loeb Weiss, 1968, 68 min., black and white, $100 ($50 high school), Tricontinental.

A Black contingent in the 1967 antiwar march is the focus for this powerful film of Black people's anger and frustration at the racism in the Vietnam War and in the United States. It includes interviews with Black G.I.'s who are furious for having been sent to Vietnam to fight other Third World people. There are interchanges on the street during the march with people who talk not only about the war, but about racial oppression, lack of job opportunities, and poor housing in this country. "It's not our war," says one G.I., "the war is here in the U.S."

The film is probably too long for a class session and is somewhat repetitious. Perhaps showing the second reel with some explanation about the first would be sufficient to get across the main points. It's an important film, despite being ten years old.

Some street language is used.

Black G.I.

Black Journal Series (NET), 1970, 55 min., black and white, $14. University of Indiana Film Library.

Black G.I. examines discrimination against Black servicemen both on and off military bases. It briefly traces the role of Blacks in past wars, then focuses on Vietnam and the disproportionately high percentage of frontline Black troops and casualties. Interviews with Black soldiers reveal that whites taught some Vietnamese to call Blacks "niggers," that certain parts of Saigon were closed to Black G.I.'s, and that although white soldiers could wear cowboy clothes and listen to country and western music, dashikis were often illegal and recorded soul music could start a barracks brawl.

The beginning of the film makes a clear point that the military is a reactionary and racist institution, and supports this from the Civil War through Vietnam. However, it retreats from this position somewhat by including interviews presenting other points of view.

There is useful documentary footage for Blacks and Third World people who do not know about the history of Blacks in the military. The first reel is enough shown by itself; the second is repetitive.

Basic Training

Frederick Wiseman, 1970, 89 min., black and white, $100. Zipporah Films.

This documentary follows a group of recruits through Army basic training at Fort Knox, Kentucky, in 1970. The theme, over and over, is "do what you are told." Although it was made at the height of G.I. involvement in Vietnam, the film gives the impression that the military wanted to avoid mentioning the war. *Basic Training* is about conditioning men to follow orders and not to think about what they might be getting into.

Index of Army Motion Pictures for Public Non-Profit Use

Headquarters of the Department of the Army, Washington, D.C. Pamphlet no. 108-4, 50 pp., free.

It's hard to know from the titles just what you'll get from the military film catalogue, but since the catalogue and films are free — even return postage is paid — it's worth getting the listing from the nearest military installation and ordering a few. Some may turn out to be useful, especially as examples of U.S. propaganda.

We ordered five films and received three for viewing. *Your Tour in Vietnam* is "not for public showing," and *The Unique War* was not available when we requested it. Of the three we did see, *The Third Challenge — Unconventional Warfare* was the longest (45 minutes) and least useful. Most of the film is an advertisement for how well the armed forces are preparing soldiers for the challenge of guerrilla warfare. It is not explicitly about Vietnam.

The Big Picture (28 minutes) is a patronizing and romantic account of the sealing-off of a Vietnamese village by U.S. troops. The Vietnamese are portrayed as backward, and the Americans as primarily humanitarian in motivation. In order to be able to analyze this film, students should have a sophisticated understanding of just what occupation, interrogation, and relocation of a village population involved. *The Village of Ben Suc* (see p. 82) might be useful as preparation.

Know Your Enemy (20 minutes) is a series of captured NLF newsreels interspersed with commentary by an American narrator who denigrates the "Vietcong." Nevertheless, the footage is informative about NLF practices — using captured weapons, transporting heavy loads on bicycles, operating underground hospitals. Even the narrator admits that these films show the NLF to be "resourceful, disciplined, ruthless, and determined." Because this is an Army film and not from a "radical" source, it may overcome some students' resistance to a sympathetic portrayal of the NLF.

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Sign at the B-52 base on Guam during the Christmas bombing of Hanoi, 1972.

See also:

Friendly Fire, Bryan, p. 75.

Home from the War, Lifton, p. 86.

The New Exiles, Williams, p. 71.

The Opium Trail, CCAS, p. 40.

Phoenix Country, Gray, p. 48.

Soldiers in Revolt, Cortright, p. 75.

"The Story of a Soldier Who Refused to Fire at Song My," Lelyveld, p. 86.

Village of Ben Suc, Schell, p. 82.

War Criminals, War Victims, Institute for World Order, p. 83.

Winners and Losers, Emerson, p. 73.

Another Family for Peace (F), p. 76.

Hearts and Minds (F), p. 21.

The Martin Luther King quote is from a 1967 speech, "Beyond Vietnam," reprinted in *Vietnam and Black America: an Anthology of Protest and Resistance,* Clyde Taylor, ed., Anchor Books, 1973, out of print. The whole speech could be used with good readers. It is an excellent critique of U.S. involvement in Vietnam and a call to act on Christian values by "getting on the right side of the world revolution."

See also the following issue of *Indochina Chronicle:*

***No. 50: Universal Unconditional Amnesty,* AMEX-Canada (July/August 1976), $.75.**

The Antiwar Movement

The antiwar movement, diverse in composition and view, had a profound impact on the attitudes, world views, and lifestyles of many Americans. In challenging the Vietnam War, the movement raised vital questions about the United States government's political motivations. As an example of action based on conscience and deepening political awareness, it is an important part of our history.

There are many reasons for including materials about the antiwar movement in a study of the Vietnam era:

—Students can be demoralized by confronting their country's less-than-generous motives, its destruction of civilian life and its failure to win the war. As the image of the warrior-hero is shattered, we hope that the women and men of the antiwar movement may present alternative models for American heroes.

—War is usually the province of men. The antiwar movement is an example of women as well as men assuming leadership and taking dramatic action for social change.

—Trying to understand why people were opposed to the war introduces students to perspectives on the nature of the war which are not available in history texts.

—Issues of conscience raised by participation in the antiwar movement make this useful material for values clarification teaching with students. There are many opportunities for students to ask, "What would I do in similar circumstances?"

—An examination of the antiwar movement presents an opportunity to learn about the tradition of dissent in U.S. history. Specifically, students may see historical and ideological connections with the civil rights and women's movements.

—Students who come to respect antiwar activists, rather than seeing them as part of a lunatic fringe, may take seriously their own responsibility to oppose misuse of power.

Unfortunately, the literature on the antiwar movement is not extensive. There is yet to be written a good history of the student movement or a history of events such as the May Day demonstrations and nation-wide moratoriums. There is no single reliable resource which takes us chronologically through the development of antiwar initiatives. Much of the best material is in the archives of peace organizations, so you may want to contact them directly (see organization list on p. 97).

END THE WAR IN VIETNAM
STUDENT PEAC
END THE VIETNAM WAR

Student Activities

1. Using *The Power of the People* (p. 70), compare the antiwar movement of the 60s and 70s with organized opposition to earlier U.S. wars and with the struggles for women's suffrage, labor unions, and civil rights.

2. Invite a representative from one of the organizations listed on page 97 to come to talk to your class about the antiwar movement.

3. Select some of the personal testimonies from *We Won't Go* (p. 71) or *The New Exiles* (p. 71) to have students read to the class (or to dramatize, adapting what is in the book). Ask a "citizens' jury" to reach a unanimous decision as to whether the person should be acquitted or punished for his action, justifying its conclusion. If the jury can't reach unanimity, ask each member to explain his/her position.

4. Select several of the draft resisters or deserters described in the books or films in this section and ask what has probably happened to them under the most recent partial amnesty programs: have their "crimes" been forgiven or forgotten? Should they be? Although none of the stories here deal with less-than-honorable discharges, this category (affecting about 700,000 veterans) should be explained to students also. See G.I. Experiences section for information on amnesty.

5. Have students write an editorial critical of or supportive of an antiwar demonstration or other action against the war. *The Trial of the Catonsville 9* (p. 71) and *The Power of the People* (p. 70) provide specific examples, or you might describe an action such as the May Day, 1971, attempt to "paralyze Washington" for a day and ask students to evaluate it. Then compare the student editorials with those from back issues of local and/or national newspapers and explore the values and assumptions which underlie their differences.

6. Have students brainstorm a list of all the methods that were used or could have been used by opponents of the war to bring it to an end. Then ask which methods would probably *not* be used by people with the following beliefs:

a. *Liberal:* The war is a mistake in policy, but we can change it by working within our present system of government.

b. *Radical:* The war is only a symptom of the basic evils of capitalism. Such wars will continue until there are revolutionary changes in our economy and government.

c. *Pacifist:* Regardless of the reasons for the war, all war is wrong. No person should kill another for any reason.

Antiwar demonstration, New York City, 1965.

7. Discuss: How do you think that people in the antiwar movement differed from people not in the antiwar movement? Some possible factors: a) different information about the war, b) a different view of the United States or of the world with which to interpret the same information, c) different values on which they based their opinions.

8. Ask: Do you know of any issues that people are protesting about now in your community or elsewhere? Can you see any similarities to the methods used by the antiwar movement?

9. Ask students to consider: Can you imagine something your government, school or employer might do that you strongly disagreed with? What would it be? What would you do to change it? What if that failed? Would you go so far as to break a law in protest?

VIETNAM VETERANS
AINST THE WAR

Books

Dilemma Stories
From "Impact of the War," part of *Vietnam Curriculum*, Boston Area Teaching Project, Inc., The New York Review of Books, 1968, pp. E-8 through E-19 and F-13 through F-14. $3 for the whole curriculum, ICG or AFSC.

These stories are useful tools for exploring values and possible actions based on conviction. Each one-page story, easily duplicated for classroom use, presents the dilemma of a person affected in some important way by the war in Vietnam, and asks the student to decide what (s)he would do in this situation.

Included are the stories of a young draftee, the fiancee of a G.I., a member of a local draft board, a military doctor, an enlisted man in a free fire zone, a U.S. senator, the father of a deserter, and two Vietnamese wondering which side of the struggle to join. The curriculum includes valuable questions and discussion material as well.

The Power of the People: Active Nonviolence in the United States
Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski, Peace Press, 1977, 240 pp., pb. $7.95, Peace Press.

This visual history of the practice of nonviolence in the United States should open students' eyes to chapters in U.S. history mostly unknown to them. It places resistance to the Indochina Wars in the tradition of the struggles for labor unions, women's suffrage, disarmament and civil rights. It also recognizes the little-known efforts of those who resisted World Wars I and II.

In every case the authors' aim is not academic analysis, but an understanding of how ordinary people marched, leafleted, picketed, sat in, resisted taxes and went to jail to change what they believed were unjust policies.

The 28-page section on the Vietnam peace movement is crammed with names of organizations and dates of demonstrations which might be confusing, but certainly impressive, to someone too young to remember the late sixties. Most valuable for high school students are the extraordinary photographs and reproductions of posters and leaflets. Also included are short biographies (among them, Dorothy Day and A.J. Muste) emphasizing the connections between political action and personal lives.

Although *The Power of the People* covers only a part of the antiwar movement, it should make the whole spectrum of resistance more real in students' minds.

At least buy one copy for your library and invite students to browse through it.

The Trial of the Catonsville Nine
Daniel Berrigan, Bantam, 1970, 109 pp., pb. $1.25. (See below for a record and cassette.)

This dramatized version of the actual trial brings to life the Catonsville defendants and their motivations for burning 378 draft files in Catonsville, Maryland, on May 17, 1968. Most of the defendants trace their own political development in explaining how they came to commit this nonviolent act of civil disobedience against the war. Though at times impressionistic, the testimony conveys the passionate commitment of the protestors very movingly. In contrast, the court is portrayed as a wooden, unresponsive organism, debating only the letter of the law, and sometimes not even that — a "jury of peers" trying the defendants is composed entirely of persons having some close connection with the armed services or involved in defense work!

As one of the defendants in this trial, Daniel Berrigan's viewpoint is clear, antiwar, Christian, and nonviolent. By careful pruning of actual court testimony, he has emphasized what the court refused time and again to consider: the moral issues of the Vietnam War, the United States' abuse of power the world over, and the individual's conscientious protest to these actions. Berrigan's (and the other defendants') testimonies stress issues of Christian morality, but also mention U.S. economic interests (especially in South America), and connect power with poverty both here and abroad.

This play is a natural for dramatic reading in a high school class, though the interjected quotes from other sources (government documents, political figures, other literary works) may be somewhat obscure to students.

An excellent 80-minute record or cassette of portions of the play is available from *Institute for Education in Peace and Justice* for $1.-$5. (depends on ability to pay).

We Won't Go: Personal Accounts of War Objectors
Alice Lynd, Beacon Press, 1968, 332 pp., pb. $1.95. Out of print. (Limited copies available from Beacon Press.)

Alice Lynd attempts to illustrate the "We Won't Go" movement which began among students in the mid-sixties. Lynd presents sympathetic personal accounts of men who grappled with the dilemma of military participation. Contributors deal with some of the following questions:

What did you do to avoid or resist military service? How did you decide — what influenced you? What happened to you as a result of acting on your beliefs? How do you feel now about your actions? What issues seem important — what would you like people to think about?

It would be easy to excerpt from the 24 accounts. There is also a valuable appendix which includes notes on the "Seeger Decision," "Application for Conscientious Objector Classification," and "Documents Related to War Crimes."

The New Exiles: American War Resisters in Canada
Roger Neville Williams, Liveright, 1971, 401 pp., pb. $2.95.

Roger Neville Williams was himself a draft resister, a journalist in Vietnam, and an American exile in Canada. He writes of an American history "made in Canada," reflecting not only on the exiles themselves but on their country which forced them to leave.

The first three chapters deal with the collective history of the exodus, including a brief outline of draft resistance and the G.I. movement in the United States. Following that are the 13 individual histories of one woman, nine deserters, and three draft resisters. They can be read in whole or in part by most high school classes.

Williams notes that in spite of the anger and frustration of exiles, their story is essentially positive: the "choice of freedom over enslavement, a new country over prison, life over death."

In the Service of Their Country: Draft Resisters in Prison
Willard Gaylin, Grosset and Dunlop, 1970, 344 pp., pb. $1.95.

When Willard Gaylin learned that there was virtually no information about Vietnam resisters in prison, he set out to interview them in the context of their prison experience. Trained as a psychoanalyst and sociologist, Gaylin used both disciplines to probe the backgrounds and present experiences of men in jail. But his training does not get in the way of his essential purpose: to find out who these men were, why they resisted, and how they fared in prison.

He presents six case studies put together from interviews with the men in prison. While charting the unique attributes of his subjects, Gaylin makes some generalizations about the type of men who resisted the war by going to prison, and the factors and motives that guided these men as a group.

He is careful to avoid psychoanalytical stereotyping and is clear about his own support for the resisters. As the title suggests, Gaylin feels that they serve their country in powerful ways.

This is an excellent resource for teacher background. Sections could be excerpted for discussion with reasonably sophisticated students.

But This War Had Such Promise
G.B. Trudeau, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973, 60 pp. $1.95.

Political cartoons often carry an impact that no words can match — and the "Doonesbury" strip was one of the best mirrors of sixties antiwar sentiment.

There are about 50 cartoons about Vietnam here (and others about such sixties phenomena as revolutionary priests, communes and investigative reporting) centering around B.D., a college football player who enlists enthusiastically for Vietnam, and Phred, a Vietcong terrorist who becomes his friend.

The strips satirize American stereotypes of the NLF and B.D.'s apple-pie enthusiastic support of U.S. policy. The Doonesbury strips are a light-hearted, non-threatening way to introduce students to the issues of the sixties.

Where Is Vietnam? American Poets Respond
Walter Lowenfels, ed., Doubleday Anchor, 1967, 160 pp., pb. $1.25. Out of print.

This collection of poems by 87 famous and lesser-known poets testifies to the scope and intensity of Americans' reactions against the Vietnam War. Published in 1967, some of the poems seem dated now, and even more are too dense and "literary" for an ordinary high school class. But at least 14 of the selections pass the tests of time and accessibility, and would provide a couple of days' good discussion in either English or social studies classes.

Recommended titles and pages are: "Paraders for the Bomb" (page 9), "Five-Day Requiem for Vietnam" (19), "To War Dead" (26), "World War" (31), "Norman Morrison" (35), "Where is Vietnam?" (36), "Testimonies for a School Prayer" (40), "Typical Eve-Of-Destruction-Type Poem" (42), "Night Letter" (54), "Vietnam I Hope You Feel Better" (59), "Vietnam #4" (83), "What Were They Like?" (73), "Speaking: the Hero" (103) and "Of Late" (129).

Out of the Vietnam Vortex: A Study of Poets and Poetry Against the War
James F. Mersmann, University of Kansas Press, 1974, 267 pp., cloth. $10.50.

This thematic analysis of poetry written in the 1960s against the war in Vietnam contains a chapter each on Allen Ginsberg, Robert Bly, Denise Levertov and Robert Duncan. Also useful are an introductory chapter surveying poetry of past wars, and a concluding chapter covering several other "minor" poets.

The book is a technical work of literary criticism, and presupposes a good deal of knowledge about poetry and poetics. It could be used with an *able* high school class, or assigned for an individual poetry research paper.

Winners and Losers
Gloria Emerson, Harvest/HBJ, 1976, 403 pp., pb. $4.95.

Emerson's subtitle — "Battles, Retreats, Gains, Losses and Ruins From a Long War" — expresses the kind of passionate scrapbook she has collected, pieced together from her own experience as a correspondent in Vietnam and from three years of interviews in this country. Haunted herself by what she saw of the war, she sought out others whose lives had been deeply affected. These include small-town Americans who lost their sons, veterans who lost their limbs or eyes, Vietnamese who lost everything: there are few real winners in this book.

Unfortunately, *Winners and Losers* has little apparent order; chapter headings give only a clue to what you may find within, and there are no subheads or index. To use it in teaching, you would have to index it yourself or turn good readers loose to wander through it.

Because it contains information about the antiwar movement unavailable elsewhere, we have included it in this section. Antiwar segments can be found on (pages from the cloth edition) pp. 205-208, the Emma Goldman Brigade; pp. 208-209, the Community for Creative Nonviolence; pp. 219-235, John Young and other antiwar POWs; pp. 314-317, the National Mobilization Committee; pp. 329-336, Vietnam Veterans Against the War; pp. 339-342, the Indochina Resource Center; pp. 343-365, Don Luce, the discovery of the tiger cages and the Indochina Mobile Education Project; pp. 363-368, Robert and Louise Ransom and Americans for Amnesty. Stories of individuals who opposed the war are found beginning on pp. 19, 48, 53, and 264.

"Confessions of an FBI Informer"
Frank Donner, *Harpers Magazine*, December, 1972, pp. 54-65.

This is the fascinating story of William Lemmer, a Vietnam veteran who infiltrated the Vietnam Veterans Against the War for the FBI. The article is based on a tape made by Lemmer and sent to the author, who was then director of the ACLU Project on Political Surveillance at Yale Law School.

Donner both quotes directly from the tapes and speculatively reconstructs what it was in Lemmer's personal history that drove him into the conflicting, and often terrifying, position of informer. Lemmer eventually came to believe that it was in part the result of "Post-Vietnam Syndrome": the psychological confusion of men whose loyalties and endurance have been tested to the extreme by combat.

This is also a study in political deception, and illustrates that the VVAW was not paranoid in thinking that they were being watched by government agencies. As Donner concludes: "His history. . . illuminates very clearly just how far the FBI is prepared to go in carrying out its mission of protecting the security of this country."

Donner's is one of the few articles which concretely documents political deception, and as such is useful to teachers wishing to raise that issue.

The Love of Possession Is a Disease with Them
Tom Hayden, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972, 127 pp. $1.95. Out of print.

Hayden presents an activist's analysis of the Nixon administration's conduct of the war. Writing in 1971, he was particularly concerned that Americans would consider the war ended as G.I.'s were withdrawn — without realizing that at the same time the air war was intensifying.

Most high school students could follow his explanations of U.S. military policies, such as the Phoenix program, the air war, pacification, urbanization, Vietnamization, and defoliation. Of special interest is his comparison (pp. 98-118) of U.S. treatment of the peoples of Indochina and of Native Americans. (Hayden's title comes from a quote by Sitting Bull.)

A problem in using the book is that no index or table of contents is included.

"Antiwar Fringe Grows to Majority Force"
Jack Nicholl, *Lessons of Vietnam*, No. 3 (reprint from *Focal Point*, publication of Indochina Peace Campaign), 4 pp. $.10, AFSC.

This brief reprint traces the development of the antiwar movement from its minute beginnings in 1965 to the huge moratorium gatherings of the late 60s and early 70s. It also details the effects, on the battlefield and at the conference table, attributable to antiwar pressure.

This article is usable in classrooms with students who have some familiarity with the history of the movement. It is part of a series of reprints (*Lessons of Vietnam*, Nos. 1-5) published by AFSC. Two others of the series, more useful to community groups and participants in the antiwar movement, are: No. 2, Daniel Ellsberg's speech in January, 1975, about the influence of the movement; and No. 5, selected testimony of Graham Martin, last U.S. ambassador to Vietnam, about the effectiveness of antiwar organizations in limiting Congressional funds for the war.

Divine Disobedience: Profiles in Catholic Radicalism
Francine du Plessix Gray, Knopf, 1970, 322 pp., cloth. $6.95. Out of print.

Francine Gray's essays on Philip and Daniel Berrigan illuminate the role of the radical Catholic left in the antiwar movement. Gray elaborates on the background of the brothers, their experiences prior to Vietnam activism, their route to involvement, and the reasons for their dramatic actions. She manages to create in her profiles a sense of who these men are, why they created such a stir within and without the church, and their special relationship to their deeply-felt Catholicism.

Divine Disobedience raises provocative questions for students about conscience, ethics, action and religion. It also points out that not all antiwar activists were long-haired hippies; as Gray stresses, the Berrigans were "deeply traditional, deeply conservative men."

This is an important resource for teachers, especially in parochial schools, and a possible outside reading resource for highly motivated students.

The War at Home
Thomas Powers, Grossman, 1973, 319 pp., cloth. Out of print.

During the Vietnam War, unlike any other the U.S. government chose to fight, the number of marchers in national antiwar demonstrations kept pace with the number of troops sent off to fight: in the spring of 1965 there were 25,000 G.I.'s propping up the Saigon regime, and 25,000 demonstrators at the Washington Monument; by the fall of 1969, U.S. troop strength had peaked at just over a half a million, and over half a million demonstrators converged on Washington.

Powers covers the period from 1964 to 1968 and argues that it was the combined effect of inability to win in Vietnam *and* rising opposition in the United States which forced Lyndon Johnson to stop escalating the war and bow out of the presidential race in the spring of 1968 — a decision which Powers sees as the key turning point in U.S. policy.

Powers covered the antiwar movement in 1967-68 as a UPI reporter, sympathetic but uninvolved. The book accurately captures the major political trends in the movement and the feelings of participants. It is somewhat weak in its discussion of strategy and particularly of the practical meaning of the split between those who saw only a need for reform in America and those who saw a need for an eventual revolution. Nonetheless, it is an excellent introduction to the antiwar movement.

Any one of the chapters on stages in the popular movement (teach-ins, street battle, mass marches, draft resistance) could give a sense of what went on. Teachers could assign the introduction to everyone and divide up the other chapters as report topics.

Soldiers in Revolt: The American Military Today
David Cortright, Doubleday Anchor, 1975, 243 pp., cloth. $7.95.

This is a straightforward, well-documented history of G.I. resistance to the war in Indochina and to the authoritarianism of the armed services. It discusses protest meetings, desertion, fragging, refusal to fight, stockade riots, and other manifestations of the breakdown in the military machine. It also covers the G.I. unions, Black soldiers' groups, newspapers, and other organizations that helped to organize and focus soldiers' discontent.

Published in 1975, the book devotes an equal amount of space to the postwar military: problems of recruitment, the volunteer army, and continuing struggles over racism and the lack of democracy. Thus, the book can be used both to study the "people's history" of the war and to discuss the army in units about career education or life after high school.

The style is somewhat dry and documentary, but the author is a former G.I. activist who shows what side he's on by presenting this often-buried information. Almost any chapter or even part of a chapter contains a wealth of specific history which suggests the scope and intensity of the G.I. revolt.

Viet Nam: The People's Resistance
The Syracuse Peace Council 1976 Wall Calendar, 30 pp. $1.50, SPC.

The SPC calendar, intended as "a visual and written testimony to people who resisted the Viet Nam War," can be taken apart to fill a bulletin board with 11" x 12" graphics and antiwar movement posters. Captions provide information about major demonstrations and about efforts such as war tax resistance, the People's Peace Treaty, the VVAW "capture" of the Statue of Liberty, the Bach Mai Hospital fund and various political trials. Also useful is a chronology of key events in Vietnam and the United States during the war.

Friendly Fire
C.D.B. Bryan, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1976, 380 pp., pb. $2.75.

Friendly Fire is the story of Peg and Gene Mullen and their family after the death of their son, Michael, who was killed by American "friendly fire" in Vietnam. The story in large part traces their efforts to find out exactly how Michael was killed. It also documents their antiwar activities and their attempts to awaken their fellow Iowans and Americans to resistance against the war.

The book is a work of nonfiction which reads like a novel — a gripping account of the grief and outrage of Vietnam era Gold Star parents. Politically, however, it is ambivalent: Bryan concludes with the suggestion that these Gold Star parents are victims of their own anger as much as of the war. The Mullens are in the end portrayed as cynical, bitter zealots, blinded by their grief and rage. The author hasn't really figured out his own outlook on the war, and the last few chapters undo much of the good of the major part of the book. The earlier chapters, however, are valuable in the way they deal firsthand with the experiences of Gold Star parents during this war.

Teachers trying for their own purposes to construct a comprehensive overview of the war and its effects on American society will probably want to include this — for their own understanding — among the books they read. It is not really a teaching resource, unless an enthusiastic high school student wishes to tackle it individually.

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Films and slideshows

Another Family for Peace
American Friends Service Committee, 1971, 32 min., black and white. $5, AFSC.

Another Family for Peace is a moving portrayal of how some families came to oppose the war for personal and political reasons.

The five families interviewed include a family who lost a son and refuse to send another, a draft resister who goes to jail, the family of a prisoner-of-war, a man who lost his leg in the war and coped with the dramatic changes in his life, and a young couple exiled in Canada due to the man's refusal to be drafted. The point of view is humanistic, antiwar, and pacifist.

So the People Should Know
Resolution Films, 1972, 30 min., black and white. $40 ($20 high school), Newsreel.

Is the United States government responsible for informing the public of its motives and actions in the Vietnam War? Have public officials been honest with citizens? Does suppressing information about the war erode faith in the government? In *So the People Should Know*, these are some of the questions Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo ask people on the street, to suggest the meaning and implications of their release of the Pentagon Papers.

In addition to the on-the-street interviews, the film presents quotes from government leaders which were the basis for shaping public opinion, counterbalanced with information revealed in the papers.

The film was made during the Ellsberg-Russo trial, and as such is useful for raising the moral issues surrounding the trial, U.S. involvement in Vietnam, and government responsibility to its own citizens.

You Don't Have to Buy War, Mrs. Smith
Another Mother for Peace, 1970, 30 min., black and white. $5, AFSC.

In a gripping antiwar speech, Bess Myerson, former Commissioner of Consumer Affairs for New York City, asks her audience to use their influence as consumers to persuade American corporations to stop making bombs, weapons, and other war materials. She also says that products for war, which consumers pay for, are used to kill and injure our own citizens — as at Kent State and Jackson State.

Myerson contrasts government rhetoric about freedom in Vietnam to the reality of life under the bombs, asks the women to whom she is speaking to listen to their children as they demonstrate against the war, and demands that General Motors and other corporations get out of the war business and make safe and useful products instead.

Though the only visual in the film is of Myerson speaking, what she has to say is vivid enough to hold students' interest.

Buddhist anti-government demonstration in Saigon.

See also:

Amnesty Packet, Gold Star Parents for Amnesty, p. 62.

Born on the Fourth of July, Kovic, p. 57.

Demilitarized Zones: Veterans After Vietnam, Barry and Erhart, p. 56.

G.I.'s Speak Out Against the War: The Case of the Fort Jackson 8, Halstead, p. 56.

The New Soldier, Kerry, p. 56.

P.O.W., Smith, p. 58.

Phoenix Country, p. 48.

The Winter Soldier Investigation, p. 57.

G.I. José (F), p. 63.

Only the Beginning (F), p. 63.

Winter Soldier (F), p. 63.

Impact of the War

This section describes the devastation inflicted upon the land and people of Indochina. Grim as the destruction is, we feel students must know about it because:

—My Lai, free-fire zones, the bombing of Laos, and tiger cages in South Vietnam were not isolated excesses but consistent parts of a military policy which violated the traditional limits of war.

—Vietnam raises questions about the efficacy of "laws of war," such as the Nuremberg principles. If modern warfare resists constraints, does this lead to the pacifist position that all war is unacceptable?

—Technology put great physical and emotional distance between the destruction and the Americans inflicting it. It was, and is, tempting to relinquish responsibility for destruction taking place at such a distance.

—Indochina was a testing ground for the automated battlefield which Fred Branfman suggests in *Voices from the Plain of Jars* (p. 82) may be the war of the future. The danger is that a developed country, with its superior technological force, may destroy an underdeveloped country without its citizens being fully informed or able to protest.

—Events such as My Lai confront students with important questions: Could any soldier become involved in an atrocity? When, if ever, should a soldier choose not to follow orders? Did racist and sexist attitudes make it easier for atrocities to occur?

—Facts about the overwhelming destruction which Indochina suffered raise questions about how the United States could have lost the war. This, and the section on Liberation Movements, show the limits of technology when it is pitted against a guerrilla army which sees itself as fighting for the liberation of its country. This has important implications for understanding similar struggles in the rest of the Third World.

Student Activities

1. Ask students to list all weapons they have learned of that were used in Vietnam and to specify the intent and effect of these weapons. Contrast this sophisticated technology with the more primitive weaponry of the NLF.

2. General William Westmoreland, commander of U.S. forces in Vietnam from 1964 to 1968, believes that the war could have been won if decisionmakers in Washington had not "forced us to fight with one hand." President Jimmy Carter agrees: "That's the lesson I think we've learned in Vietnam. If you're going in, you have to go in full speed. If you don't you shouldn't go in the first place." Given that the Thieu forces had the third largest air force in the world, and (including U.S. forces) three times the number of armed men the NLF had, what would "full speed" have meant? Do you think the U.S. should have used nuclear weapons as it did in World War II?

3. Ask the class to discuss: Are there any rules in war? What do they think of the saying, "All's fair in love and war"? If they feel that there should be limits to what is allowed in war, ask them to write their own version of what those limits should be. Then compare their rules of war with actual international laws such as the Hague Conventions (pp. 10-11, *The Limits of War,* see p. 83).

4. Discuss the difference between conventional combat and guerrilla warfare, in which fighters blend in with the people and rely on civilians for support and supplies. In a guerrilla war such as Vietnam, the civilian population as a whole is likely to be treated as a military target. How, if at all, does this change the definition of war crimes? Does destruction of villages and civilians then become a "military necessity" and thus approved by the Nuremberg principles?

5. If students believe, after reading materials in this section, that criminal acts were committed by any of the parties involved in the Indochina War(s), ask them to evaluate: were war crimes mostly the responsibility of individual soldiers, or were soldiers carrying out criminal policies of their military and government leaders? If the latter, could soldiers have refused to obey orders? Should they have? How would these questions be answered by: Lt. Calley, Lyndon Johnson or Richard Nixon, soldiers testifying at the Winter Soldier Investigation, Ho Chi Minh, or a Nuremberg judge?

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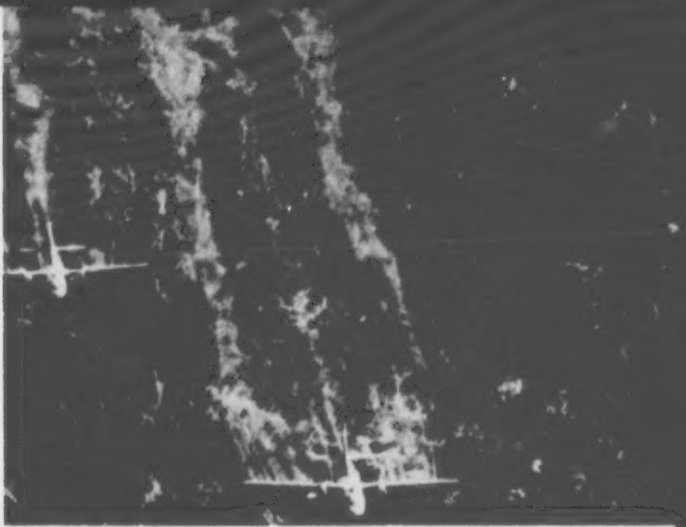
6. Simulate the evacuation of a Vietnamese village to help students identify with the millions of Vietnamese who were made refugees. An effective simulation is described on pp. F10-F13 of the "Impact of the War" section of the *Vietnam Curriculum:* students are arbitrarily ordered to leave their possessions and report to a small area "for their own good," in preparation for reading *The Village of Ben Suc* (see p. 82). Page 49 of *Indochina is People* (see p. 28) also has questions to help students imagine what it would be like to leave their homes with only what they could carry.

7. Give euphemisms used during the war and ask if students can figure out what they mean: interdiction (bombing); resources control program or defoliation (destroying the plant life in an area with chemicals); pacification (clearing enemy forces out of an area, sometimes with extensive damage to homes, crops and people); New Life Hamlet (refugee camp); limited duration protective reaction strike (air raid); termination with extreme prejudice (killing an enemy spy); precleared firing area (free-fire zone, or area in which everyone is considered the enemy and therefore a fair target); Vietnamization (withdrawing U.S. troops and turning the war over to the South Vietnamese, with the support of U.S. planes and weapons). What is the difference in emotional effect between the euphemisms and their translations? Why do you think the U.S. government and military made heavy use of euphemisms during the war?

8. Ask students to do a drawing, painting, collage, poem or other personal response to the materials in this section.

9. See *The Limits of War* (p. 83) and *War Criminals, War Victims* (p. 83) for other questions.



Books

The Village of Ben Suc
Jonathan Schell, Knopf, 1967, 132 pp., cloth. $4.95. Out of print.

Ben Suc, a prosperous South Vietnamese village, was governed by the National Liberation Front from 1964 to 1967, when the U.S. Army "Operation Cedar Falls" evacuated or killed everyone in the village and obliterated what was left with bulldozers and bombers. Jonathan Schell gives a highly readable account of this military mission which destroyed the village and the cultural patterns that had sustained its people. In his restrained style, Schell shows vividly how little the Americans understood of what was happening in Vietnam and how grotesquely counterproductive U.S. technology was in "winning Vietnamese hearts and minds."

This is one of the most objective books available in that the author interviews people representing all points of view and presents their stories in their own language. In addition, he gives his own detailed description of what he saw. Without explicitly presenting his own opinion, Schell makes a strong statement against U.S. intervention by contrasting the Americans' enthusiasm for their "model project" with their destruction of Ben Suc.

Students with enough background understanding to sort out the various factions which were vying for control of Ben Suc could read this independently. Teachers might also read aloud or thermofax excerpts on such topics as how the NLF organized in the village, how "Vietcong" were "identified" when Ben Suc was "cleaned out," or Schell's description of the miseries of life in the refugee camp.

The Village of Ben Suc appeared in a different form in the "Reporter-at-Large" section of the July 15, 1967, *New Yorker*.

Voices from the Plain of Jars: Life under an Air War
Fred Branfman, Harper and Row, 1972, 160 pp., pb. $1.95.

In September, 1969, after a recorded history of seven hundred years, the Plain of Jars in Laos became the first society in history to vanish because of automated warfare. For five and a half years it had been subjected to daily bombing by the most sophisticated U.S. technology — at a time when United States officials denied that they were doing any bombing in northern Laos. When Richard Nixon admitted the bombing in 1970, he still denied that civilian areas had been targeted.

Fred Branfman proves Nixon wrong. He compiled this book of drawings and testimony by refugees from the Plain of Jars to let them describe for themselves what they suffered living under an air war. Also included are other refugee surveys documenting the extensive bombardment of civilian populations in other parts of Laos.

Although the introductory section on Laos' history is too complicated for most high school students to unravel, the Laotians' stories are simple, dignified and moving. Even junior high school students could easily read one or more selections in a class period — most are only a few pages long. The drawings, some of them quite horrifying, speak for themselves.

Branfman sees in the Plain of Jars an ominous, *1984*-style picture of what future wars may be like: superpowers intervening in distant parts of the world with machines, not men, unsuspected even by their own citizens. His prediction deserves serious discussion.

War Criminals, War Victims: Andersonville, Nuremberg, Hiroshima, Mylai
Institute for World Order, Random House, 1974, 57 pp. $.25, World Without War Council/Midwest.

This is an excellent pamphlet for students considering the legal and moral issues raised by My Lai in the broader context of how international laws have been applied in other wars. Excerpts from four actual courtroom cases are presented: the trial of a Confederate captain for prison camp atrocities during the Civil War; the trials of German officials after World War II; legal suit for damages suffered from atomic bombs dropped on Japan in World War II; and the trial of William Calley for the murder of civilians at My Lai.

There is also a short history of the development of international law, the Nuremberg Principles, and excerpts from the U.S. Army field manual section on war crimes. Provocative questions in every section should spark heated classroom discussions.

The twelve-page chapter on My Lai could be covered in a single class. As in all cases of atrocity stories, the teacher must use great sensitivity in deciding how best to present it.

A final chapter asks readers to imagine a future world system which effectively protects individual rights and encourages individual responsibility.

The Limits of War: National Policy and World Conscience
Donald W. Oliver and Fred W. Newmann, Xerox, 1974, 63 pp. $.95.

This excellent booklet, written for high school use, provides a solid base for weighing the moral issues raised by the Indochina war. It begins with a history of the development of modern warfare and the rules for its conduct, then examines what happened at Nuremberg and Hiroshima in vivid detail. After evaluating different interpretations of how limits on war should be or could have been applied in Germany and Japan, students are asked to apply principles of international law to other situations: American settlers' treatment of the Creek Indian tribe, a fictitious struggle between a university and its radical students, a possible crisis in 1981 when a guerrilla uprising in Northeast Brazil threatens to bring on a nuclear war.

Directly useful to discussion of Vietnam is "The Trial of Captain Levy," (pp. 28-29): the case study of a U.S. Army medical officer who refused to train Green Beret medical aid men on the grounds that to do so would make him a party to war crimes.

Vietnam Inc.
Philip Jones Griffiths, Collier Books, 1971, 223 pp., pb. $3.95. Out of print.

This collection of Griffiths' own photographs mercilessly contrasts the dignity and beauty of traditional Vietnamese life with the grotesqueness of U.S. militarism, technology, and Coca-Cola culture. The text is probably too difficult and anti-American for high school use, but the photos of the evacuation and destruction of villages, Saigon street life, the automated battlefield, and civilian casualties bring the devastation of the war painfully to life again.

Just leafing through this book would have to be a consciousness-raising experience for high school students. It is probably too strong for any grade level below high school.

Children of Vietnam
Betty Jean Lifton and Thomas C. Fox, Atheneum, 1972, 111 pp., cloth. $3, CALC, New York.

Lifton and Fox, one a children's writer and the other an International Volunteer Services worker in Vietnam, present a series of moving portraits of children who have suffered from the war. Included are orphans, street children, a refugee child, an Amerasian boy, a girl of the NLF and the children of My Lai. Each chapter includes a photograph, a brief history of the child, and quotes from interviews.

Children as young as fifth grade could read this independently, and chapters (some only four pages long) could effectively be used separately with a whole class.

Ears of the Jungle
Pierre Boule, Vanguard Press, 1972, 224 pp., cloth. Out of print.

Madame Ngha, head of the Democratic Republic's General Intelligence Service, leads a (predominately female) cast of resourceful and wonderfully optimistic Vietnamese who outwit U.S. war technology in this novel. Jungle noises are monitored by millions of tiny electronic sensors, and when a supply convoy is detected, an IBM computer sends out F-4s to bomb the area. Mme. Ngha and her staff divert the bombs to useful targets: first to an area thickly populated with buffalo, to help feed the mountain tribes; then to the jungle where the route of a future highway is effectively cleared by napalm, and finally to the site of the monitoring base itself!

This book engages the reader's sympathies for the Vietnamese without making us feel defensive for being Americans. Here, Americans are referred to as the enemy, although never by nationality. Reverence for Ho Chi Minh is the main thing identifying the loyalties of the characters.

It provides insights into the relation between the NLF and the Vietnamese national minorities, the nature of the air war, the role of women in the NLF, and the motivations of the NLF.

This is an excellent outside reading book to assign to good readers who like espionage and war stories. It has the advantage of excitement and suspense without the usual concomitants of war: visible blood, guts, and obscenities. It is largely a conflict of wits between Mme. Ngha and U.S. technology.

The Human Cost of the Vietnam War
Le Anh Tu, NARMIC/AFSC, 1976, 4 pp. $.10 each, $.60 for ten, $4 plus shipping for 100, AFSC.

This four-page pamphlet summarizes some of the statistics of destruction from the war in Vietnam: Vietnamese killed, wounded or made refugees; the effects of bombing, shelling and chemical warfare; the damage done to South Vietnam's economy, and the cost to American taxpayers. Clear explanations and comparisons with other wars make this an important aid in presenting the magnitude of the war's impact. The section on ecocide (destruction of land, crops, and forest) is especially dramatic.

Hostages of War: Saigon's Political Prisoners
Holmes Brown and Don Luce, Indochina Mobile Education Project, 1973, 110 pp., pb. $1.50, AFSC. $1.50/$1 ten or more, CALC, Washington.

We Accuse
Jean-Pierre Debris and Andre Menras, Indochina Mobile Education Project, 1973, 93 pp., pb. $1.25, AFSC.

The 200,000 political prisoners in Thieu's jails were a horrifying, little-known part of the war and of the period following the 1973 Peace Agreements. The two pamphlets listed are useful in understanding the extent of political repression in South Vietnam.

Hostages of War, a detailed survey of civilians imprisoned without trial in what was South Vietnam, graphically portrays the brutality of the Thieu government.

It would be possible to thermofax a few pages on different issues: treatment of religious groups, for example, or of women in prison, or of the Con Son Tiger cages. One copy per classroom is sufficient.

We Accuse is a personal account by two Frenchmen who were arrested and jailed for two and a half years for raising the NLF flag in Saigon. They briefly describe life in Saigon for the majority of Vietnamese, but mostly their story is about conditions, torture, and resistance in Chi Hoa prison. This may sound like tough going, but it's surprisingly readable.

My Lai 4: A Report on the Massacre and Its Aftermath
Seymour M. Hersh, Random House, 1970, cloth. $8.95.

Cover-Up
Seymour M. Hersh, Vintage Books, 1972, 297 pp., pb. $1.95. Out of print.

The My Lai Massacre and Its Cover-Up: Beyond the Reach of Law?
The Peers Commission Report, Joseph Goldstein, Burke Marshall, and Jack Schwartz, eds., The Free Press, 1976, 586 pp., pb. $2.95.

For classes who read about Lt. William Calley in *Front Lines* or *War Criminals, War Victims,* these books provide background information about the My Lai massacre and its aftermath.

My Lai 4 tells the basic story from the point of view of the soldiers involved. *Cover-up* adds further information about the massacre and details the attempts at every level to pretend that it never happened.

The Peers Commission Report, on which much of *Cover-up* is based, was commissioned by the Army in response to public outcry about My Lai and not made public until four years later. A huge volume of military reports and trial transcripts, it is hardly a handy resource. It has the advantage, however, (besides being in print and inexpensive) of backing up its condemnation of the massacre and cover-up with the authority of the Army itself. One especially useful part is the chronology, listing all the defendants who were eventually acquitted or had charges against them dropped, and the gradual reductions in Calley's sentence until his release in 1975.

Hersh and the Peers Commission drew quite different conclusions from their evidence. The Peers Commission proposed minor reforms in military procedures. Hersh concluded that incidents like My Lai were inevitable in an institution which routinely overlooked violence against Vietnamese civilians, and in which most officers' primary concern was keeping their own records clean — an important context for students to bear in mind when thinking about Calley.

A portion of *Cover-up* appeared in the *New Yorker,* January 22, 1971.

"The Story of a Soldier Who Refused to Fire at Songmy"
Joseph Lelyveld, *New York Times Magazine*, December 14, 1969.

The title of this is self-explanatory: Michael Berhardt, who thought of himself as "an ordinary, regular guy," found himself regarded as "some kind of a nut" when he not only refused to participate in the killing at Song My (the village of which My Lai was a part), but became the first to disclose publicly what had happened there.

Although at the time this article was written Berhardt was still a drill sergeant with strong beliefs in the honor of the military and the purpose of the war, he was deeply troubled by what he had seen: "I felt like . . . maybe they forgot to tell me something, that this was the way we fought wars and everybody knew it but me." Berhardt's story might be especially persuasive for students who do not identify with antiwar veterans.

The Military Half: An Account of Destruction in Quang Ngai and Quang Tin
Jonathan Schell, Vintage, 1968, 212 pp., pb. $1.65. Out of print.

As in his earlier book, *The Village of Ben Suc*, Schell writes powerfully against the war without moralizing by recording in meticulous detail what he has observed during several weeks with American forces in the Quang Ngai province of South Vietnam. The pilots with whom he flew (in Forward Air Control planes that helped find targets for the fighter-bombers) saw their work as the necessary "military half" of a larger program to assist the people of Vietnam. They came to believe that they could tell, from 1500 feet, whether a person on the ground or a whole village was "friendly" or "unfriendly."

The Military Half is too difficult for most high school students, but valuable background reading for a teacher who wants a factual first-hand account of how air strikes were planned and carried out, how villagers were removed from their homes and resettled in refugee camps, and how the "progress" of the war was reported and evaluated. The book is out of print but worth searching for.

Home from the War: Vietnam Veterans: Neither Victims nor Executioners
Robert Jay Lifton, Simon and Schuster, 1973, 249 pp., pb. $3.95.

Home from the War is the best resource we have found for comprehending the psychology of seemingly incomprehensible atrocities such as My Lai. Although it is too philosophical and relies too heavily on psychological terms for most high school students, teachers attempting to deal with this subject will find it valuable background reading. Lifton, a psychiatrist opposed to the war, based *Home from the War* on two years in "rap groups" with antiwar veterans struggling to make sense of their experiences in Vietnam.

Two chapters are especially helpful in thinking about war crimes: "Gooks and Men" (27 pp.) explores how the "gook syndrome" enabled G.I.'s to desensitize themselves to the effects of their actions on the Vietnamese. "America's New Survivors: the Image of My Lai" (37 pp.) examines the step-by-step sequence by which the soldiers who took part in My Lai became immersed in an "atrocity-producing situation." Lifton says, "My assumption in speaking of an atrocity-producing situation is that, given the prevailing external conditions, men of very divergent backgrounds — indeed just about *anyone* — can enter into the 'psychology of slaughter.' "

Lifton's book avoids the easy assumption that crimes of war are committed by a few disturbed individuals, yet vividly portrays the guilt experienced by veterans who participated in criminal situations.

The Wasted Nations
Report of the International Commission of Enquiry into United States Crimes in Indochina, Frank Browning and Dorothy Forman, eds., Harper Colophon, 1972, 346 pp., pb. $3.95. Out of print.

During its hearings in Oslo, Sweden, in June, 1971, the International Commission of Enquiry heard testimony from U.S. soldiers, Indochinese victims of the war, medical doctors, scientists and journalists. Their testimony expands on the Winter Soldier Investigation by detailing the effects of bombing, chemical warfare, and policies such as pacification and food destruction; and by including the expanded war in Laos and Cambodia. All of this is then specifically evaluated in terms of international law.

A clear table of contents and index make this a useful teacher reference. Selections from the chapter "The Victims" could be used in class, as could parts of the chapter on international law. Douglas Dowd's "The Political Economy of War" is valuable teacher background reading on how the strategic and economic importance of Indochina to the United States has changed over the years.

Nuremberg and Vietnam: An American Tragedy
Telford Taylor, Bantam, 1970, 224 pp., pb. $1.25. Out of print.

The teacher who wants to explore further the intricacies of international law might find it worthwhile to track down this out-of-print book by the U.S. Chief Counsel at Nuremberg. Taylor, who until 1965 supported U.S. involvement as a response to aggression, by 1970 found its policies in Vietnam in clear violation of the Geneva Conventions.

Taylor points out ways in which the Nuremberg judgments do not clearly apply to Indochina: they are silent on the subject of aerial bombardment, for example (all sides having bombed urban centers in World War II), and the distinctions they draw between soldier and civilian are difficult to maintain in a guerrilla war in which one side fights without uniforms, military bases, or battle lines. Taylor is sympathetic to the plight of G.I.'s caught in this situation and places responsibility with military and government leaders. As the *Pentagon Papers* had not been published at the time of this writing, he does not find U.S. leaders guilty of intentionally criminal purposes in Indochina, only *de facto* criminal practice.

"The Cratering of Indochina"
Arthur H. Westing and E.W. Pfeiffer, *Scientific American*, May, 1972, p. 20.

This article explores the severe damage done to the ecology of Indochina through intensive bombing and chemical warfare. Along with millions of people who were killed or wounded, the earth, with the web of life it supported, was also a victim.

The authors seem concerned over the impact of bombing on the Vietnamese landscape, but do not espouse a specific political position. They evaluate the effects of the bombing from a scientific and ecological perspective.

"The Cratering of Indochina" is written in a technical manner, and thus would be useful primarily to students with a scientific inclination. For any students interested in the ecological effects of the war it is important reading.

Ecology of Devastation: Indochina
John Lewallen, Penguin, 1971, 179 pp., pb. $1.95.

Though dated, this book provides useful information on the ecological destruction that was part of U.S. policy in Vietnam. Because of the technical nature of much of the writing, the book is best used with good readers interested in science.

Chapters two through six provide especially sophisticated facts about chemical warfare, destruction of wildlife, lunarization of soil, and irreversible poisoning of air and water. Also of interest are government attempts to ignore or play down the devastating effects of biological warfare, and projections about warfare of the future.

Films and slideshows

◇ **Sad Song of Yellow Skin**
Canadian Film Board, 1970, 58 min., color. $47, Films, Inco.

"Sad Song of Yellow Skin" is a moving story of the social and personal effects of the war on some of the people of Saigon.

Three young Americans tour the city, touching on the lives of street boys, prostitutes, religious men and the general ambience of the overcrowded city. Of special interest to students is a section about a night shelter for the "shoeshine boys" who, despite their amazing toughness and skill at making easy money, come across as proud, sensitive and needing affection. The film is beautifully done and really allows the viewer to meet a few Vietnamese people and follow their lives and thoughts.

If time is limited the first reel alone will illuminate the effects of the war on these people's lives.

The Young Puppeteers
1968, 25 min., black and white. $25 (high school $13), Newsreel. (Also called "Young Puppeteers of Vietnam.")

In this film, teenagers in the NLF-liberated areas of South Vietnam make beautiful puppets from scraps of downed U.S. warplanes. We first see them working out their puppet show in dramatic ballet form. With these puppets they travel through the countryside, performing for village children even as U.S. planes circle overhead.

This Vietnamese-made film is mostly a puppet show and thus entertaining for children. The music is good, and although the English commentary is sometimes difficult to understand, the film is self-explanatory. Useful for all.

Village by Village
Bill Zimmerman, 1972, 42 min., color. $5, AFSC; $20, SRC.

Village by Village begins with scene after scene of civilian destruction in North Vietnam and interviews with the villagers whose homes, schools and hospitals were destroyed. The second part consists of interviews in Hanoi between the four Americans involved in the film and eight captured American pilots, who describe their experiences and their personal desire for peace.

The final section expresses the spirit and will of the Vietnamese to keep fighting — they are prepared for the worst, but they won't let the bombs terrorize them. Their schools and factories are built underground, and their desire for independence and reunification is undaunted.

War Crimes
Marshall Windmiller, Zenger Productions, Inc., 1972, filmstrip/cassette, $10, Social Studies School Service.

This filmstrip gives students historical background on the Nuremberg Trials and the international definition of war crimes that resulted from those trials. It then goes on to apply this definition to the My Lai massacre and to hypothetical dilemma situations for student discussion: what actions would be considered war crimes, or indeed, can the Nuremberg definition apply to a guerrilla war such as Vietnam?

Recommendation of this filmstrip is qualified for several reasons. The script implies that war crimes committed in Vietnam were the work of crazy individuals rather than backed up by military policy and training; throughout, the "American government" is equated with "we," the citizens; and the script implies that the only reason we don't know about equivalent war crimes on "the other side" is that there is no free press in communist areas.

Nevertheless, this is a useful tool for stimulating discussion. The script includes a bibliography, discussion questions, and suggestions for student activities.

Saigon shoeshine boys who couldn't afford a 50¢ bribe to a policeman often ended up in jail.

The Automated Battlefield
NARMIC/AFSC, 1972, 30 min., slideshow. $5, AFSC.

This slideshow describes the electronic air war which substituted computer sensors and remote control bombers for American troops. It documents how U.S. corporations have produced, promoted, and profited from push-button warfare — "the greatest step forward since gunpowder."

The slideshow details which companies made which killer devices. It is a pointed denunciation of how corporate interests affect foreign policy.

The factual information presented here graphically illustrates the devastation that the U.S. government (with our tax dollar) and U.S. corporations (with our labor power) can imagine and inflict on a foreign country. The script is long but could be shortened without removing slides.

The Story of the B-1 Bomber
American Friends Service Committee, 1974, 15 min. (short version), slideshow. $20, AFSC, San Francisco.

This brief but dramatic presentation of the B-1 bomber as proposed successor to the B-52 was produced as a part of a campaign to stop the B-1. Slides and tape show the legacy of air bombardment in Vietnam by B-52s, and the even greater destructive power of the new B-1s. The role of United States corporations and military groups, such as Boeing, Rockwell, and General Electric is analyzed, showing also the impact of B-1 production on the U.S. economy.

See also:

The Indochina Story, Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, p. 17.

The Ivory Comb, p. 48.

The Little Weaver of Thai-Yen Village, Tran Kanh Tuyet, p. 30.

The New Soldier, Kerry, p. 57.

Of Quiet Courage, Chagnon and Luce, p. 28.

Peasants of North Vietnam, Chaliand, p. 30.

Phoenix Country, Gray, p. 48.

Tell Them We Are People, Luce, p. 28.

A Time To Heal, Southeast Asia Resource Center, p. 93.

Under Fire, Indochina Curriculum Group, p. 49.

Vietnam! Vietnam!, Greene, p. 16.

Winners and Losers, Emerson, p. 73.

The Winter Soldier Investigation, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, p. 57.

Women of Vietnam, Eisen-Bergmann, p. 49.

Another Family for Peace (F), p. 76.

Hearts and Minds (F), p. 21.

Inside North Vietnam (F), p. 51.

Winter Soldier (F), p. 63.

Year of the Tiger (F), p. 51.

See also the following issue of *Indochina Chronicle:*

*Nos. 10-11: *Summary of "The Air War in Indochina"* (January 1972), $.35.

*Single copy only available.

Vietnam Since the War

For Vietnam the cost of independence has been tremendous. This section focuses on the problems of reconstruction in the South, which suffered not only military damage but the impact on its culture of massive relocations of peasants and the influx of U.S. soldiers and material goods. The North began its socialist revolution in 1945; the South is struggling now to develop a socialist consciousness from the wreckage of thirty years of war.

The task of human reconstruction demands much of the Vietnamese government's resources: bodies must be healed, jobs developed and 20 million people fed. The land itself must be healed and made productive again. In addition, new values must be developed to overcome the cultural upheaval of the war years.

Some reasons for students to learn about the rebuilding of Vietnam and the nature of the new government are:

—The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is now the third largest socialist country in the world.

—Vietnam provides students with an example of a society attempting to develop by cooperation rather than competition.

—Although it is universally admitted that the predicted bloodbath never occurred in 1975, the propaganda war against Vietnam continues in the press. Students need other sources to counteract the sweeping condemnations of the new government in newspapers and on television.

—Students need to become informed of the unfinished business still before the United States government — the need for reconstruction aid and for normalized trade and diplomatic relations.

—From studying this and other sections, some students may develop a desire to help in Vietnam's reconstruction effort. Perhaps the strongest lesson they learn will be the discovery that their government not only has not honored its own agreements to give reconstruction aid, but that it also hampers private relief efforts.

We wish there were more information about the countries of Indochina since the war. First-hand reports from Vietnam have been published mostly in periodicals inaccessible to high school students. Even less is available about Kampuchea and Laos.

The situation of Vietnamese evacuees in this country is another post-war issue which has not been adequately covered. Other than "Where is Home?" the September, 1975, *Indochina Chronicle* which describes the babylift and evacuation, we haven't found information readable by students that isn't using the evacuees to attack the SRV.

A field near Saigon the day of liberation, 1975.

Student Activities

Clearing minefields after liberation.

1. Contact relief organizations such as Friendshipment, Church World Service, and AFSC about what they are currently doing to aid the countries of Indochina. (Projects since the war's end have included rebuilding the Bach Mai hospital, constructing a hospital near My Lai, shipping wheat surpluses from the United States, and supplying agricultural, medical, and industrial equipment.)

2. Invite recent visitors to Vietnam and Laos to speak to your class and show slides. (Arrangements can be made through AFSC, Friendshipment, ICG, SRC, or CCAS.)

3. a. Ask students: what problems do you think must be overcome in rebuilding Vietnam? Have them brainstorm, then add others they may not know about: (Bear in mind that many of these do not apply in the North, which was not occupied by U.S. forces and was able to begin physical reconstruction in 1973. An overriding problem, of course, is reunifying north and south.)

—Damage to the land: bomb craters, forests destroyed by herbicides, bulldozed topsoil, salination from bombed dikes, unexploded mines, work animals killed.

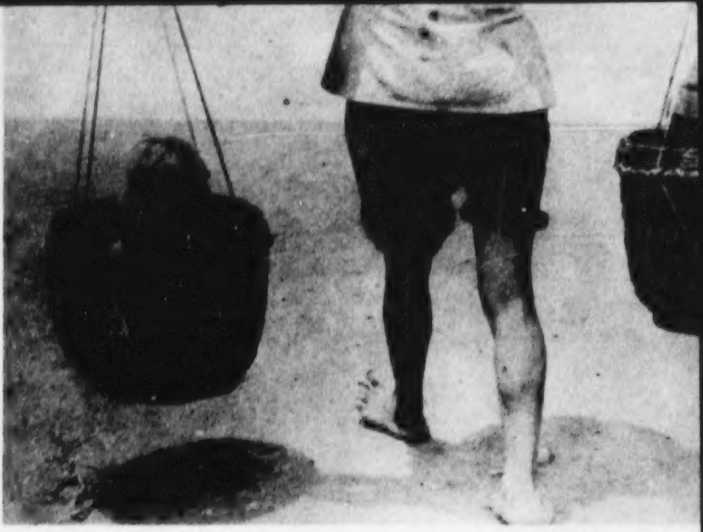
—Damage to economy: farmers forced off land (acute food shortages); city economy dependent on U.S. dollars and massive aid; no foreign exchange basis; unemployment; beggars, prostitutes and former Thieu employees unable to make a living; industries bombed; many skilled workers killed or left the country; shortage of gasoline, industrial equipment and machine parts.

—Damage to individuals: 1.7 million killed; 181,000 disabled; 879,000 orphaned; hundreds of thousands affected by venereal disease or drug addiction; continuing damage from unexploded mines and birth defects caused by herbicides.

b. Ask students to imagine that they are members of the new government of Vietnam and to choose the problems to which they would give the highest priority. How would they solve them? Assuming that they wanted to insure democratic process and individual rights, how would they deal with former ARVN officers, or with unemployed people who did not want to leave Saigon?

Then use some of the resources in this unit to see how the problems actually are being addressed.

4. Assign students to report on aid given by the United States for countries damaged by World War I, World War II, and the Korean War. Ask: Why do you think our government is unwilling to aid the countries of Indochina?



Books

A Time to Heal
Southeast Asia Resource Center, 1976, 32 pp. $.50/$3.50 for ten, SRC. Also AFSC.

This pamphlet is the most useful resource available to introduce students to the social and physical damage which this most technological of wars imposed upon Vietnam. Although the pamphlet's purpose is to inspire Americans to help heal the wounds of the war, the information presented is completely objective. Some information about the plights of American veterans is included.

Vietnam Two Years Later
Carol Bragg, American Friends Service Committee, 1977. 8 pp. $.25/ten for $2, AFSC.

Vietnam: Rebuilding the South
Martha Winnaker, Southeast Asia Chronicle #56-57, May-July 1977, 19 pp. $1/ten for $6.50, SRC.

These two personal accounts of postwar tours of Vietnam would be of value to high school students already acquainted with the history and nature of the war. Both would be excellent resources for individual research papers or reports (or for teacher background). Martha Winnaker's account emphasizes the experience of the trip itself and the Vietnamese she met. Carol Bragg's report carefully introduces whatever background information about the war is needed to give proper context to her observations. Both include photographs.

Advanced students might want to contrast one or both of these reports with a sampling of U.S. press coverage of Vietnam during the first two years after the war.

Peace Comes to Vietnam (Photo Display)
Sophie Quinn-Judge, American Friends Service Committee, 1975, 25 14" x 17" panels with captions offset on heavy paper. $6, AFSC.

AFSC staff in South Vietnam at the end of the war took the photographs from which this display was assembled. They emphasize the enormous tasks involved in repairing the damages of war and building a new society.

Giai Phong! The Fall and Liberation of Saigon
Tiziano Terzani, St. Martin's Press, 1976, 296 pp., cloth/pb. $10/$2.25.

Tiziano Terzani, Vietnam correspondent for the German magazine *Der Spiegel*, witnessed the U.S. collapse and communist triumph in Saigon. *Giai Phong!* is his firsthand report of those events — of Americans escaping, of liberation fighters marching into Saigon as youths chanted "Giai Phong!" ("Liberation!") and of the agonizing wait for a bloodbath which never came. Terzani's inside account graphically depicts the controversial U.S. evacuation and babylift, the establishment of a new government in Saigon and the men and women who formed it, the first steps in the "reeducation" process in South Vietnam and the first months of peace after 30 years of war. Terzani's final impression is a positive but not overly enthusiastic view of the new regime, tempered by an awareness of great changes to come.

Terzani covers events from April, 1975, through August, 1975, focusing mainly on Saigon. The table of contents is well broken down so that readers can pick and choose what they wish to read about, and there are plenty of pictures augmented with vivid descriptions of places and people.

Students trying to read through from the beginning will probably be lost in names, dates and historical references. The book becomes really compelling on p. 69 with "Good-bye America." The best use might be to duplicate or read aloud interesting sections such as "Go 7 Blocks" or "The Vietcong Up Close."

Dateline Vietnam
Richard Dudman, St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, October and November, 1977, 29 pp. $.50, AFSC.

Richard Dudman was the first journalist for a major U.S. newspaper to make an extensive tour of postwar Vietnam. The articles cover his visits to a reeducation camp, a "new economic zone," Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi. They would be appropriate for classroom use with good readers, but they should be used with at least one other resource such as *A Time to Heal* or *A Visit to Cam Thanh Village*. Although these articles are almost the first relatively sympathetic reporting to appear in U.S. papers, they are selective in subject and do not give a fully comprehensive picture of postwar conditions.

Repression Allegations Packet
American Friends Service Committee, 1978. $1.

In December, 1977, several former antiwar activists made public a letter protesting alleged human rights violations in Vietnam. This letter has since been cited in the press as proof that such violations have occurred.

If the subject of the allegations should be raised, it is important that the original letter be available for analysis along with informed comment on the substance of the allegations. This packet provides the contradictory bodies of information and some interpretation.

Films and slideshows

A Visit to Cam Thanh Village
American Friends Service Committee, 1976, 6 min., slideshow/cassette. Cost of shipping, AFSC.

This six-minute slideshow vividly describes the magnitude of the reconstruction task facing one central coastal village. The narrator, who visited Vietnam in 1976 as part of a Friendshipment delegation, tells of the hope and determination with which the villagers are rebuilding and emphasizes the need for international assistance.

The brevity and quality of *A Visit to Cam Thanh Village* make it ideal for classroom use. It can be used alone or as an addition to the longer slideshow, *Vietnam: The Challenge of Peace*.

Vietnam, The Challenge of Peace
American Friends Service Committee, 1976, 28 min. slideshow/script/cassette. $5 ($20 to purchase).

This slideshow is based on the personal experiences of six AFSC staff who remained in Vietnam for several months after the war's end. Although they are favorably impressed by what they saw, they remain tentative in drawing conclusions about what directions the new government may take.

Slides and text are divided into four sections: "The Early Days of Peace," "A Changing Society," "The Problems Left Behind . . ." and "Healing the Wounds." The show as a whole is too long and has too much information in it for one classroom period. Teachers could cut the script and simply show the slides, foregoing the cassette narration.

Vietnam: Picking Up the Pieces
Jon Alpert, Downtown Community TV Center, 1978, 60 min., color, videotape ½" reel-to-reel or ¾" cassette. $75.

This videotape, aired on national public television in April, 1978, gives a sympathetic view of the Vietnamese efforts toward reconstruction. Descriptions of hunger and other hardships are presented as the inevitable consequences of years of destruction rather than as evidence of the new government's failings/weaknesses. The tape is about evenly divided between northern and southern Vietnam, with the emphasis throughout on interviews with individual Vietnamese. American students should be especially interested in segments showing a Saigon teenager being visited by a neighborhood delegation trying to persuade him to give up his pre-revolutionary loafing and join in constructive work, a girl in an orphanage crying as she sees the American visitors who remind her of her father, former prostitutes learning new skills in schools "for restoring the dignity of women," and former drug addicts being helped through withdrawal. Segments which address controversial issues include visits to a reeducation camp and a new economic zone and interviews with workers in state-run and private businesses.

Parts of the tape could be used separately if class schedules don't allow time to view the whole program.

See also:

The Little Weaver of Thai-Yen Village, p. 30.

See also the following issues of *Indochina Chronicle:*

No. 39: *North Vietnam: A Personal Journal,* Marr (March 1975), $.50.

No. 42: *"Nothing is More Precious..." Vietnam Regains Independence and Freedom* (July/August 1975), $.50.

No. 43: *Where is Home?* (Indochina's evacuees in the United States) (September 1975), $.50.

No. 44: *Eyewitness to Revolution: A Changing South Vietnam* (October/November 1975), $.50.

No. 49: *Vietnam Rebuilds* (May/June 1976), $.75.

No. 53: *The U.S. and Vietnam: Toward Normalization* (December 1976), $.75.

No. 56-57: *Vietnam: Rebuilding the South* (May/June 1977), $1 (includes report on U.S. Paris negotiations).

Appendices

Organizations

American Friends Service Committee (AFSC): The main office is in Philadelphia. Check first to see if a local office has what you need.

National Office, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102. 215/241-7164

Local Offices:
2160 Lake St., San Francisco, CA 94121. 415/752-7766
P.O. Box 2234, High Point, NC 27261. 919/882-0109
2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140. 617/661-6130
915 Salem Ave., Dayton, OH 45406. 513/278-4225
2 Stimson Ave., Providence, RI 02906. 401/751-4488
1428 Lafayette St., Denver, CO 80218. 303/832-1676
2426 Oahu Ave., Honolulu, HI 96822. 808/988-6266
317 East 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218. 301/366-7200
407 South Dearborn St., Chicago, IL 60605. 312/427-2533
4211 Grand Ave., Des Moines, IA 50312. 515/274-4851
15 Rutherford Place, New York, NY 10003. 212/777-4600
980 North Fair Oaks Ave., Seattle, WA 98105. 206/632-0500
600 W. 28th, #102, Austin, TX 78705. 512/474-2399

Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), 1322 18th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. 202/232-0527

CALC, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038. 212/964-6730

Church World Service, Room 620, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10027.

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, D.C. 20002. 202/546-8400

Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars (CCAS), P.O. Box W, Charlemont, MA 01339.

Committee of Concerned Conscientious Objectors (CCCO), 2016 Walnut St., Philadelphia, PA 19103.

Council of Vietnam Veterans, Inc. (Bob Mueller), 1346 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 931, Washington, D.C. 20036. 202/466-2190

Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), P.O. Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960. 212/568-8200

Friendshipment, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. 212/490-3910

Gold Star Parents for Amnesty (GSPA), 41 Oxford Rd., Newton, MA 02159. 617/965-1546

Mobilization for Survival (National Office), 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107. 215/563-1512

National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex (NARMIC), part of AFSC Philadelphia.

National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors (NISBCO), 550 Washington Bldg., 15th and New York Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20005. 202/393-4868

National Military Discharge Review Project, 511 E St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20001. 202/347-7566

Scientific Aid to Indochina (SIPI), 355 Lexington Ave., New York, NY 10017. 212/661-9110

Southeast Asia Resource Center (SRC) (formerly Indochina Resource Center), P.O. Box 4000D, Berkeley, CA 94704. 415/548-2546

Syracuse Peace Council, 942 Burnet Ave., Syracuse, NY 13203. 315/472-5478

Union of Vietnamese Patriots, P.O. Box A707, Radio Station, New York, NY 10017.

United Church of Christ, Barry Lynn, Policy Advocate for Church and Society (amnesty issues), 110 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, D.C. 20002. 202/543-1517

Vietnam Era Veterans' Group in Congress—New G.I. Bill, Rep. David Bonior (MI), House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515.

Veterans Education Project, Keith Snyder, Dupont Circle Bldg., 1346 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Veterans Research Project (study of presidential discharge), Louise Ransom, 22 Gladwyn Place, Bronxville, NY 10708.

War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012. 212/228-0450

Womens International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107. 215/563-7110

Embassies or Missions

Permanent Mission of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the United Nations, 20 Waterside Plaza, New York, NY 10010.

Permanent Mission of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to the United Nations, 321 E. 45th St., New York, NY 10017.

Abbreviations

AFSC—American Friends Service Committee
CALC—Clergy and Laity Concerned
FOR—Fellowship of Reconciliation
GSPA—Gold Star Parents for Amnesty
ICG—Indochina Curriculum Group
IEPJ—Institute for Education and Justice
NARMIC—National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex
NEFP—New England Free Press
SRC—Southeast Asia Resource Center
VRC—Vietnam Resource Center
VVAW—Vietnam Veterans Against the War

Publishers and Distributors

American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). See p. 97 for local addresses.

Asia Society, 112 East 64th St., New York, NY 10021.

Atheneum Publishers, 122 East 42nd St., New York, NY 10017. 212/953-4561

Bantam Books, Inc., 666 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10019. 212/765-6500

Beacon Press, Inc., 25 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108. 617/742-2100

Berkeley Publishing Corp., 200 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016. 212/883-5500

Bobbs-Merrill, 4300 West 62nd St., Indianapolis, IN 46206.

The Cellar Bookshop, 18090 Wyoming, Detroit, MI 48221.

Children's Book Press, 1461 Ninth Ave., San Francisco, CA 94122.

China Books: Main office: 2929 24th St., San Francisco, CA 94110.

East Coast: 125 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10003.

Midwest: 174 West Randolph St., Chicago, IL 60601.

Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), 1322 18th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. 202/223-0527

CALC, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038. 212/964-6730

P.F. Collier, Inc., 866 Third Ave., New York, NY 10022. 212/935-2000

Crowell-Collier (Thomas Y. Crowell Co.), 666 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10019. 212/489-2200

Dell Publishing Co., 1 Dag Hammarskjold Plaza, 245 East 47th St., New York, NY 10017.

Delta, see Dell.

Doubleday and Co. (Doubleday Anchor), 245 Park Ave., New York, NY 10017. 212/953-4561

East River Anthology, 114 North 6th St., Perkasie, PA 18944.

Far Eastern Economic Review, 38 West 36th St., New York, NY 10018.

Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960.

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Vintage Books, 201 East 50th St., New York, NY 10022.

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World Without War Council/Midwest, Robert Woito, 67 E. Madison St., Suite 1417, Chicago, IL 60603. 312/236-7459

Xerox Education Publications, 1250 Fairwood Ave., Columbus, OH 43216.

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New Yorker Films, 43 West 61st St., New York, NY 10023. 212/247-6110

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Available through Columbia Records:

"I Can Hear It Now: The Sixties," Walter Cronkite.

Poster Distributors

Peoples Press, address p. 99.

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Literature

Books useful for English/literature classrooms

Histories of the War

Vietnamese Women in Society and Revolution, Ngo Vinh Long, p. 19.

The Land and People of Indochina

Children of the Dragon, Karl, p. 29.

The Little Weaver of Thai-Yen Village, Tran Kanh Tuyet, p. 30.

New Year's Rice Cakes, p. 29.

Of Quiet Courage, Chagnon and Luce, p. 28.

A Thousand Years of Vietnamese Poetry, Nguyen Ngoc Bich, p. 30.

Vietnamese Liberation Movements

The Ivory Comb, p. 48.

Phoenix Country, Gray, p. 48.

Prison Diary, Ho Chi Minh, p. 48.

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The Coming of the Strangers, Indochina Curriculum Group, p. 39.

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G.I. Experiences

Demilitarized Zones, Barry and Ehrhart, p. 56.

Free Fire Zone, Karlin, Paquet, and Rottmann, p. 55.

War Year, Haldeman, p. 59.

Winning Hearts and Minds, Rottmann, Barry, and Paquet, p. 55.

The Antiwar Movement

The Trial of the Catonsville Nine, Berrigan, p. 71.

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Impact of the War

Ears of the Jungle, Boule, p. 84.

Books useful for elementary-level classrooms

Land and People of Indochina

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The New Year's Rice Cakes, p. 29.

The Little Weaver of Thai-Yen Village, Tran Kanh Tuyet, p. 30.

Cac Em Ve (Children's Drawings), p. 30.

Impact of the War

Children of Vietnam, Lifton and Fox, p. 84.

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Vietnam! Vietnam! Felix Greene, p. 16.

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North Vietnam, Riboud and Devillers, p. 31.

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Vietnam, Our Beloved Land, Nguyen Cao Dam, Tran Cao Linh, p. 31.

Vietnam Magazine, Peace Book Co., Hong Kong, $9. yearly subscription, or up to 20 copies of an issue from ICG for $.25 each, p. 27.

G.I. Experiences

The Vietnam Photo Book, Mark Jury, p. 60.

The Antiwar Movement

The Power of the People, Cooney and Michalowski, p. 70.

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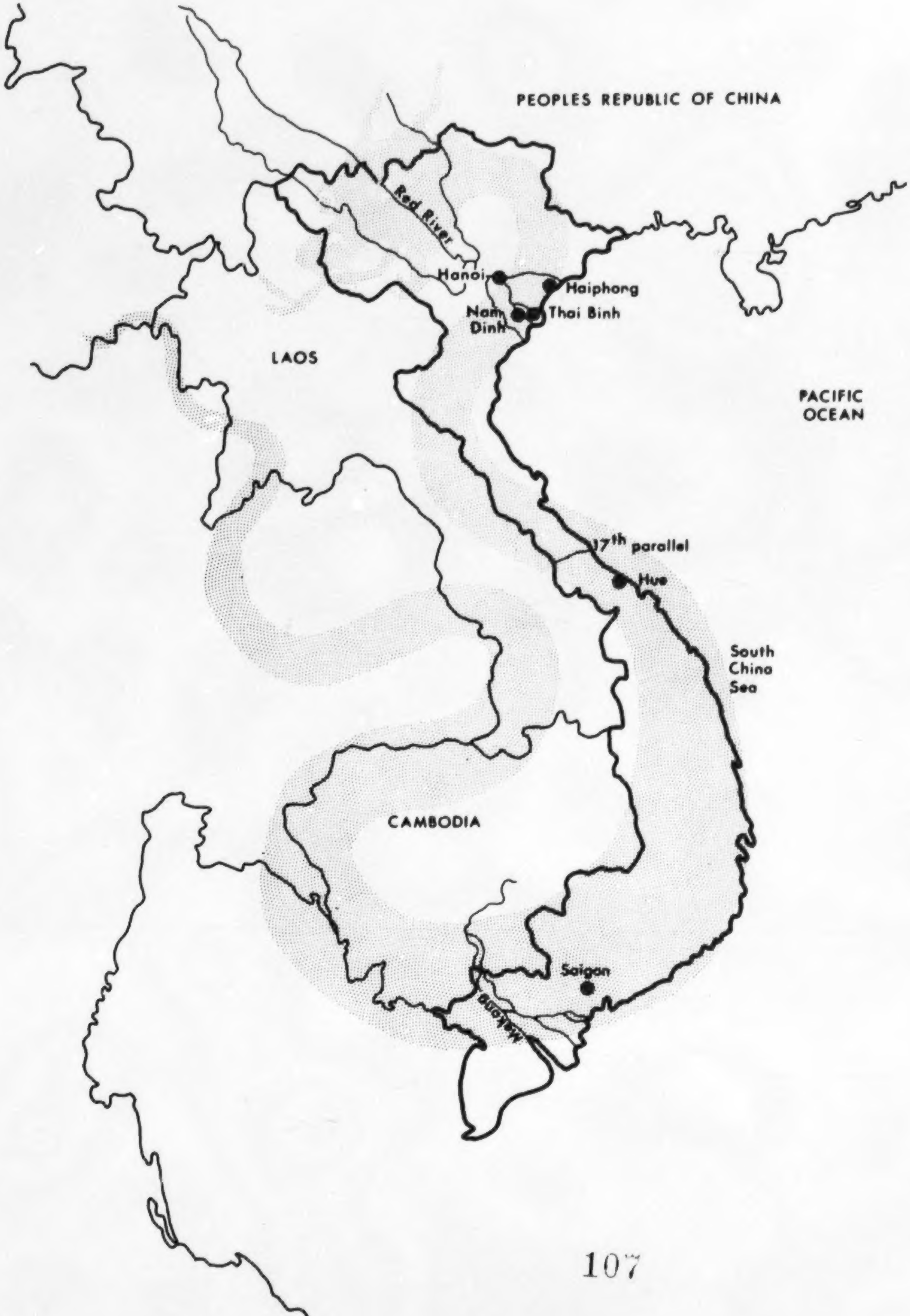
Vietnam Inc., Philip Jones Griffiths, p. 83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